



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

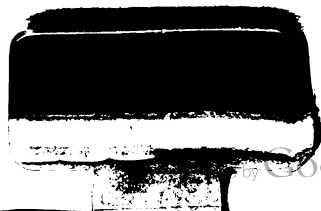
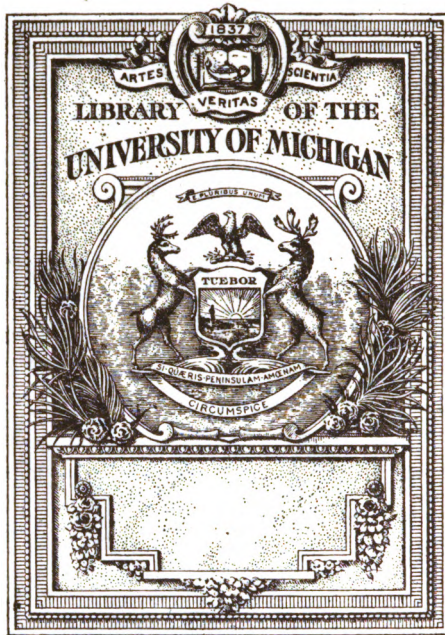
### About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

**B** 433542 DUPL

576 500

74



888

T6

GSE



ΘΟΥΚΥΔΙΔΟΥ ΞΥΓΓΡΑΦΗΣ Η.









ΘΟΥΚΥΔΙΔΟΥ ΞΥΓΓΡΑΦΗΣ Η.

THE EIGHTH BOOK

OF

THUCYDIDES' HISTORY



EDITED

WITH NOTES AND INTRODUCTION

BY

H. C. GOODHART, M.A.,

PROFESSOR OF HUMANITY IN EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY,  
FORMERLY FELLOW AND LECTURER OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

London:

MACMILLAN AND CO.  
AND NEW YORK.

1893

*[The Right of Translation is reserved.]*



**Cambridge:**

**PRINTED BY C. J. CLAY, M.A. AND SONS,  
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.**

TO MY FATHER.

G. T.

330154

*b*



## PREFACE.

THERE is always an appearance of arbitrariness in separating one book of Thucydides from the rest. In some ways however the eighth book is the one which suffers least from such separation. I have tried to show in the Introduction how the war enters upon a new phase after the defeat of the Sicilian expedition. The scene changes from Greece to Asia. But there is something more than a mere change of scene. Athens herself appears under new conditions, fallen greatly from her high estate, but appealing more than ever to our interest and sympathy. We have seen her before in the full blaze of Periclean splendour. But perhaps our admiration has been qualified by some feeling of aloofness. The people of Pallas Athene seem to dwell upon sunlit heights too far removed from the darkling ways of humanity. The picture of their life is like the fabric of a vision, and they themselves partake of its unreality. But the feeling vanishes when we see them in the grip of fate. Pity, akin to love, takes the place of admiration, and we follow their fortunes with sympathy as keen and active as that which swayed the spectators of the final battle in the great harbour of Syracuse. So it may be that we get nearer to them in the closing scene than we have ever been before.

But it may safely be left to Thucydides himself to inspire the sentiment with which his history should be read. The

editor's duty is the humbler one of restoring for himself and his contemporaries the force and significance which the words carried unaided to the public for which they were written. This is the main object which I have had before me, and I have allowed myself also a certain licence of incidental comment in two particulars. First as it is impossible to read Thucydides attentively without becoming strongly interested in the individuality of his style I have noted rather freely verbal points of Thucydidean usage; secondly I have tried to mark with distinctness the historical bearings of the events related, from a subsequent as well as from a contemporary point of view. In this I have endeavoured to be clear even at some risk of triteness or superfluity. The principles on which I have treated the text are explained at greater length in the Introduction. Emendations suggested for the first time are in all except the most trifling cases inserted in the critical notes and not in the text.

The obligations of an editor of Thucydides are not easy to define owing to the great mass of comment and illustration which has practically become common property. It is both difficult and laborious, while it serves no useful purpose, to trace every criticism and reference to its original author. Where I am conscious of owing a remark directly to a predecessor I have acknowledged it *ad loc.* For the rest I can only express in the fullest terms my deep and general obligations to Poppe, Stahl, and Classen, under whose auspices I, like so many others, first made real acquaintance with Thucydides. Mr Tucker's edition of book viii. (Macmillan and Co.) did not unfortunately come into my hands till the greater part of my work was through the press. Hude's critical text of books vi—viii. has been of great assistance to me in verifying the readings of the MSS.; and in all questions of Thucydidean usage Essen's lexicon, in spite of its want of system and arrangement, has been invaluable. Upon

such questions I have made, as far as I am aware, no statements which I have not previously tested by reference to all the examples contained in that lexicon. Many Cambridge friends have helped me in various ways, but my thanks are especially due to Mr J. D. Duff, of Trinity, who has read all the proofs and given me the most constant and valuable assistance, to Mr Walter Headlam, of King's, who was kind enough to collate book viii. for me in the Laurentian MS. at Florence, and to Prof. W. Wyse for communicating to me his views upon the account of the revolution of the 400 in the *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία* of Aristotle. To Dr Jackson, in common with many Trinity men, I am indebted for initiative and much useful advice, and Dr Postgate has given me the benefit of his opinion upon several grammatical points.

One fact I must mention in explanation if not in excuse of certain inconsistencies and omissions which I fear may appear in the book. After more than half of the text and notes were through the press, circumstances compelled me to lay aside the work altogether for nearly two years. It was extremely difficult upon taking it up again after such an interval to avoid some inconsistency of treatment, and it was in some few cases impossible without confusion to give recent work upon the subject the consideration which it may fairly seem to demand. I hope that it may be possible to amend these and other defects in the future.

EDINBURGH,

*June 15, 1893.*







<p><i>Seph.</i></p>	<p>Miletus centre of operations. Ath. victory. Peloponnesians reinforced by 55 ships: take Iesus: send Pedarius to Chios. Ath. supremacy re-established by arrival of 35 ships (c. 30), raising force to 104. They re-organise at Samos and</p>	<p>A/c. in disgrace at Sparta, owing to (1) Ath. success at Miletus, (2) change of ephors (c. 45).</p>
---------------------	---	--

## INTRODUCTION.

### I. *The War.*

AT the conclusion of the first period of the Peloponnesian war in 421 B.C. the peace of Nicias had nominally replaced both parties in the position which they held at its commencement. The balance of success was however actually in favour of Athens. The policy of Pericles had amply justified itself, and it had been sufficiently demonstrated that, with the command of the sea and the support of her allies which was thereby secured, Athens had no reason to fear the boasted supremacy of the Spartans by land. On the other hand the allies of Sparta, at whose instigation she had begun the war, were bitterly disappointed to see that after a ten years struggle they had gained no substantial advantage. Thebes and Corinth refused to accept the peace, and Sparta found herself acting in opposition to the wishes and interests of the most important members of her confederacy. In fact the peace of Nicias was not really a pacification of Greece, but the result of a resolution on the part of the two chief powers to impose peace upon the rest for objects of their own<sup>1</sup>.

Such a condition of affairs could hardly be stable, and its importance lay mainly in the fact that by discrediting the Spartan hegemony, and causing the formation of a separate Peloponnesian league in opposition to Sparta, it paved the way for the aggressive policy which Alcibiades was always urging his countrymen to substitute for the safer methods of Pericles. The alliance of Athens with Argos, Elis, and Mantinea in the spring of 420 B.C. marks her adoption, under Alcibiades' auspices, of a new policy, and one which could not be pursued with safety by the

Position of  
Athens and  
Sparta after  
the Peace of  
Nicias.

Reversal of  
Pericles' po-  
licy by Alcibi-  
ades.

<sup>1</sup> cp. Thuc. v, 29.

Athenian democracy. Undoubtedly if the counsels of Athens had been directed by a strong will and firm purpose the opportunity was a great one. Philip of Macedon in a like position would have broken up the Spartan confederacy, and conquered it in detail. But Alcibiades was not Philip, and Philip himself would have been powerless had he depended for his authority upon the changing moods of the ecclesia. A democracy such as that of Athens was too garrulous, and too much distracted by conflicting interests, for a foreign policy which demanded diplomatic reticence combined with rapid and unfaltering action when the occasion was ripe. This was soon shown with fatal clearness by the irresolution of the Athenians in the summer of 419<sup>1</sup>, and their inaction before the battle of Mantinea. By that victory Sparta retrieved her reputation<sup>2</sup>, the Athenian alliance in the Peloponnese was broken up, and the policy of Alcibiades was for the time discredited.

But these events left their mark. The Athenians were unsettled: they grew weary of the prudent counsels of Pericles, which had required them to avoid all unnecessary aggressive action, to husband their resources, and trust to their fleet.

The war party were more anxious than ever to retrieve their reputation, and Alcibiades, in pursuit of his own objects of personal aggrandisement, was always ready to lead them on. It was at this juncture that brilliant hopes of conquest in Sicily were suggested by the embassy of the Egesteans imploring Athenian intervention. We need not follow out the history of that disastrous venture. In the autumn of 413 Athens was dismayed by news not merely of defeat and disaster, but of the complete destruction of the greatest armament they had ever sent out, "a host of horse and foot, a goodly company the like of which they looked in vain to find again"<sup>3</sup>. From this point the relative positions of Athenians and Spartans are completely altered. Of all the advantages over her opponent which Athens had previously enjoyed, not one remained. Her fleet and her wealth were alike gone. Her naval prestige was irreparably damaged. Her allies were rapidly falling off. Her ablest general Alcibiades had gone over to the enemy and was directing their blows against his country with merciless precision. Some slight compensation was to be found in the fact that all parties in the state united in face of the pressing danger to make a desperate struggle for existence, and the democracy frightened out of its frivolity was ready enough to submit itself to discipline<sup>4</sup>. It was however the

<sup>1</sup> Thuc. v, 55.

<sup>2</sup> Thuc. v, 75.

<sup>3</sup> Thuc. viii, 1.

<sup>4</sup> cp. Thuc. viii, 1, 4 *πρὸς τὸ παρα-  
χρῆμα περιδεές...ἐτοίμοι ἦσαν εὐτακτεῖν.*

inertness of the enemy rather than their own efforts which gave Athens a respite from destruction. In this as in subsequent crises the Spartans proved to their opponents *ξυμφορώτατοι προσπολεμῆσαι*<sup>1</sup>.

It will be sufficient here to mark the general characteristics of this latter part of the war without dwelling upon the details, which will be found in their place in Thucydides' narrative. We are first struck by the fact that though in 412 Athens seemed so absolutely helpless, no serious and united effort is made against her in Greece, but the war is fought out for more than seven years in an indecisive manner upon the coasts of Asia. In part this was due to the advice of Alcibiades, who persuaded the Spartans that the maritime empire of Athens was her most vulnerable point. He no doubt believed that if the Peloponnesians appeared in force in Asia in 412, Athens would then be as helpless to protect her allies and her corn supply against them as she was after the battle of Aegospotami. If that had been so—and no one could have anticipated the amazing recuperative power which Athens showed—Ionia would in fact have been the best point of attack in order to bring the war to a speedy conclusion. And there was besides this another reason which weighed greatly with the Spartans. The warning of Archidamus was coming true, *ἔστιν ὁ πόλεμος οὐχ ὅπλων τὸ πλεόν ἀλλὰ δαπάνης δι' ἣν τὰ ὅπλα ὠφελεί*<sup>2</sup>; and complete as was the exhaustion of the Athenian resources after the ruinous expenditure in Sicily, the position of Sparta was hardly better. In this last period of the war the payment and maintenance of the forces on both sides, a matter of which we have hardly heard before, becomes a question of the most commanding importance.

But on the Asiatic coast at this time there were two rival claimants for assistance, both prodigal of their promises of pay if only they could induce the Lacedaemonians to transfer the head-quarters of the war to Ionia or the Hellespont. The Greek cities in Asia had always been a thorn in the side of the satraps in whose government they were included. The Persian king claimed them as part of his dominions, and expected the satraps to extract from them a tribute, which they steadily refused to pay. It was the protectorate of Athens that had hitherto secured them immunity in this course, and it seemed therefore that the overthrow of the Athenian power in Asia could hardly fail to benefit the Persian government. Pharnabazus, satrap of Lesser Phrygia, whose government included the south shore of the Propontis, seems to have been capable and energetic

<sup>1</sup> Thuc. viii, 96, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Thuc. i, 83.

as well as honest in his offers of assistance. He appears as a picturesque figure at Abydos in 411, riding his horse into the sea in the Homeric struggle to save the stranded Peloponnesian ships<sup>1</sup>. It was his vigour and generosity that encouraged the Lacedaemonians to make fresh efforts after their defeat at Cyzicus in the spring of 410. On that occasion he supplied money, arms, and timber for the construction of a new fleet, and wrested from the Athenians the fruits of their victory. The cities in his satrapy were of vital importance to Athens, for without the command of the Bosphorus and the Hellespont she could not obtain her supplies of corn from the Euxine. On all grounds then it would have been to the advantage of the Lacedaemonians to accept the invitation sent to them by Pharnabazus early in 412, and to have despatched a strong force to cooperate with him in the Hellespont in injuring the Athenian interests. But the representations of Tissaphernes, the satrap at Sardes, who invited them to Ionia, had more weight with the Spartan authorities. Knowing what we do of Tissaphernes' shifty character and bad faith, we may guess that he carried his point by judicious bribery. His invitation was moreover accompanied by an offer from Chios to revolt from Athens. Chios was one of the strongest of the island states, and invaluable as an ally to a naval power. So far she had been loyal to Athens, and her reputation is shown by a fragment of Eupolis quoted by the Schol. on Aristoph. *Birds* 880—καλὴ πόλις...πέμπει γὰρ ἡμῖν ναῦς μακρὰς ἄνδρας θ' ὅταν δεῖσῃ, καὶ τὰλλα πειθαρχεῖ καλῶς, ἀπληκτος ὥσπερ ἵππος. To procure the revolt of so trusted an ally would be to threaten the whole Athenian supremacy, and so it happened that the Lacedaemonians determined first to try their fortunes in Ionia. It was not till the summer of 411 that, thoroughly disgusted with the duplicity of Tissaphernes, and unable even to relieve Chios and Miletus from blockade, Mindarus decided at length to accept Pharnabazus' offers and sail for the Hellespont.

We have seen the combination of circumstances which resulted in the transference of the war to Asia. It remains to consider shortly the conditions under which it was carried on there during the two years which are included in the narrative of this book. Each side secured an excellent base of operations. Besides Chios the Peloponnesians gained over to their side the important city of Miletus, which was specially valuable to them as affording a good station for their fleet. The harbour of Chios

Course of  
operations in  
Asia, Chios,  
Miletus, Sa-  
mos.

<sup>1</sup> Xen. *Hell.* i, 1, 6.

had no natural advantages, being formed only by a mole running out from a spit of land opposite the town. On the other hand Miletus boasted no less than four harbours, protected no doubt by Lade and the other islands which have since become a part of the mainland. The position was also favourable for operations against Samos, and Miletus accordingly became the head-quarters of the Peloponnesian fleet. Of the Athenian allies in Asia the strongest, after the loss of Chios, was the island of Samos, a continuation of the range of Mt Mycale, separated by a narrow channel of about a mile in breadth from the mainland. An insurrection of the democrats there against the existing oligarchy, early in the year 412, had secured the island permanently to the Athenian alliance<sup>1</sup>. The town lay upon the S.E. coast, and the harbour, though artificial, was of considerable size, the moles which protected it being regarded in ancient times as remarkable engineering works<sup>2</sup>. Here the Athenian fleet established itself as successive reinforcements arrived, and the summer of 412 was spent in efforts on the part of the Lacedaemonians to gain over the allies of Athens, while the Athenians watched their movements, and endeavoured, for the most part successfully, to thwart them. Lesbos, which revolted from Athens about this time, was almost immediately reconquered by Leon and Diomedon, who on their way back to Samos reduced Clazomenae as well. By September the Athenians were strong enough to invest Miletus, and gain an important victory on land against the combined forces of the Peloponnesians, Milesians, and Tissaphernes, thus putting their opponents almost entirely upon the defensive. A few weeks later we find them commanding the seas with a fleet of 104 ships, and detaching a squadron of 30 to blockade and harass Chios<sup>3</sup>.

Meanwhile the Lacedaemonians, dispirited with the ill success of their bold attempt in Asia, and finding themselves unable to protect Chios and Miletus or to make any further progress in their designs, were becoming more and more discontented. Tissaphernes was obviously playing them false. He had provided very little of the pay which he promised, and had shown no disposition to aid them in other ways, in spite of the fact that they had taken Iasus for him and handed over to him his enemy Amorges. Moreover Alcibiades, whom the Spartans now began to suspect of treachery and resolved to kill, retaliated by taking refuge with Tissaphernes and prejudicing him in every way against his Greek allies. News arrived also that the Spartan government was intending

<sup>3</sup> Ill success of the Peloponnesians. They retire to Rhodes.

<sup>1</sup> Thuc. viii, 21.

<sup>2</sup> cp. Herod. iii, 60.

<sup>3</sup> Thuc. viii, 30.



to send out 11 commissioners to enquire into the conduct of their admiral Astyochus. For all these reasons Astyochus was most anxious to get out of his present position, and taking advantage of proposals which he received from Rhodes for the revolt of that island, he determined at the end of 412 to retire thither, leaving the Athenians masters of the greater part of Ionia<sup>1</sup>.

For the first three months of 411 the whole Peloponnesian fleet remained inactive at Rhodes, the ships being actually dragged up on land. Such inactivity was once more the salvation of Athens, for during March and April 411 the beginnings of the conspiracy, which declared itself at the end of April, must have been in progress, and neither the city nor the armament at Samos would have been in a condition to oppose a vigorous attack from the outside<sup>2</sup>. No doubt it was the difficulty of obtaining supplies, and the failure of Tissaphernes' promises that forced the Peloponnesians to remain so long at Rhodes. But Astyochus himself must also have been to blame, and his conduct of the war, if not actually treacherous, was certainly lacking in vigour and decision. It was not till the end of March that he once more put to sea and returned to Miletus in answer to the pressing invitations of Tissaphernes, who was already tired of Alcibiades and the Athenians.

Mindarus succeeds Astyochus, and determines to throw over Tissaphernes, and start for the Hellespont.

Shortly afterwards Mindarus arrived from Sparta to succeed him in his command. The new admiral, who was not yet under the influence of Tissaphernes, could not fail to see how entirely the interests of Sparta had been subordinated to those of the Persian king, and accordingly resolved at once to move northwards and join Pharnabazus in the Hellespont. The Athenians hastily followed<sup>3</sup>, and a somewhat indecisive action was fought off the promontory of Cynossema, in which the Peloponnesians, though worsted, did not suffer very serious loss.

Here Thucydides' history breaks off, though the war was prolonged for seven years more. In the following year (410) Alcibiades' victory over Mindarus at Cyzicus, and the complete destruction of the Peloponnesian fleet made the prospects of Athens seem more favourable than they had been at any time since the disastrous end of the Sicilian expedition. The cities of the Hellespont and Thrace once more began to pay tribute; a toll was levied as in former times upon the trading

End of Thucydides' history. Subsequent events. The battle of Cyzicus. Cyprus.

<sup>1</sup> Thuc. viii, 44.

<sup>2</sup> For the synchronism of events at this time *v.* the folding chronological scheme at the beginning.

<sup>3</sup> For the manœuvres in connection with this movement *v.* Thuc. viii, 99—104.

ships that passed through the Bosphorus, the corn supply from the Euxine was reestablished, and the financial condition of Athens began sensibly to improve. This is shown by the public accounts for the year, in which a considerable sum is once more devoted to the Theoric fund, and the public festivals and sacrifices<sup>1</sup>. Such prosperity however was only transient, and (in 407) the arrival of Cyrus at Sardes with very extensive powers, which he soon showed his intention of using to support the Lacedaemonians, must have put an end to the Athenian hopes. It was money that must decide the war, and the Persian gold was now thrown into the scale in favour of Sparta. The particular events which closed the struggle may have been due to accident or treachery, or both, but under existing conditions it could have had no other termination than the exhaustion and final submission of Athens.

## 2. *The revolution at Samos and Athens.*

To those who have been accustomed to regard the Athenian constitution as a typical and even an extreme democracy, the oligarchical revolution of 411 comes with a shock of surprise. Even Thucydides' narrative tends to produce the impression that it was an isolated and capricious event due to the reckless intrigues of Alcibiades and a few advanced members of the political clubs. To some extent this is true; but yet among the actual agencies which brought the revolution about none was entirely new or of recent growth. There was no sudden conversion of any large number of the citizens from democracy to oligarchy. The only novelty of the situation lay in the circumstances which made a combination possible between the pronounced enemies of the democracy and those who had hitherto been but vaguely dissatisfied with it. It would be a grave mistake to suppose that the Athenians were divided politically into oligarchs and democrats<sup>2</sup>. The oligarchs were few in number, chiefly members of the *ἐταίριοι*, and these mostly young men of good family who were ready to make their principles altogether subservient to their personal ambition. The real democrats no doubt formed a large numerical

The revolution not due to any sudden change of political sentiment.

Three parties in the state—democrats, oligarchs, and moderates.

<sup>1</sup> v. C. I. A. i, 188 (referred to by Underhill, *Pref. to Xen. Hell.* i—ii).

<sup>2</sup> In what follows I wish to acknowledge my obligations to Mr L. Whibley's *Political Parties at Athens during the*

*Peloponnesian War*, Camb. 1889. It forms a most convenient summary of recent conclusions as to the politics of Athens at this time.

majority in the state, but they can hardly have had a proportionate share of wealth, influence, and ability. The support of the middle class of substantial citizens was necessary to the stability of the constitution, and we have plenty of indications that these were all along far from accepting without question the existing democracy.

In politics they occupied a central position between the extreme oligarchs and democrats<sup>1</sup>, and though it would be too much to assert that they had a definite programme of their own, there were certainly three principal points in which they wished the constitution to be modified. They desired (1) some restriction of the franchise which should exclude the poorest class from the government, (2) the abolition of pay except for military service, (3) the limitation or abolition of election by lot (this last however was perhaps a private tenet of some individuals of the party). Besides these definite points of difference it would appear that the Moderates were strongly in favour of a more generous treatment of the allies. It can hardly be doubted that the sentiments expressed by Diodotus in his speech on the punishment of the Mytileneans<sup>2</sup> fairly represent the opinions of a considerable number of Athenians who were disgusted by Cleon and his supporters. The same feeling appears in the plays of Aristophanes<sup>3</sup>, who continually urges the importance to Athens of a just and conciliatory treatment of her subjects. There is an interesting passage in the speech of Alcibiades at Sparta, where he says that not every one who is included under the term *δῆμος* at Athens is at heart an extreme democrat, and explains that some find it necessary to work under democratic forms who are not altogether in sympathy with them<sup>4</sup>. Whatever we may think of this statement as inferentially applied to Alcibiades himself, there can be no question that it fairly described the position of such men as Nicias, Theramenes, Thucydides, and perhaps Socrates.

What proportion did this middle class bear to the whole number of citizens? Our conclusions in this matter can only be approximate, though we are not without some data to go upon. It is probable that at the beginning of the war

Numbers of  
the 'Moderate'  
Party.

<sup>1</sup> Aristotle throughout assumes that the *μέσοι* between the *εὐποροὶ σφόδρα* and the *ἀποροὶ σφόδρα* are *μέσοι* also in political views, and has much to say in their favour. cp. *Pol.* iv, 11. Thuc. alludes to them in iii, 86, 8 as τὰ μέσα τῶν πολιτῶν, and perhaps in viii, 75, 1 as οἱ διὰ μέσου. cp. also vi, 54, 2 Ἀριστογέγων,

ἀνὴρ τῶν ἀστῶν, μέσος πολλῆς, and Eur. *Suppl.* 244—5

τριῶν δὲ μοιρῶν ἡ 'ν μέσῳ σώζει πόλεις, κόσμον φυλάσσουσ' ὄντων' ἂν τάξῃ πόλις.

<sup>2</sup> Thuc. iii, 42 ff.

<sup>3</sup> e.g. *Lysist.* 582—6.

<sup>4</sup> Thuc. vi, 89, 4.

there were something like 35,000 citizens of the full age, of whom about 15,000 possessed at least the hoplite census. After 412 the losses due to the plague and the war had reduced the citizens of full age to less than 20,000, and those possessed of the hoplite census to about 9000<sup>1</sup>. It is sufficiently obvious that the number of the Middle Party at any time must have been considerably less than the number of those whose property qualified them to serve as hoplites, for (1) this number includes all the oligarchs, (2) there must have been a considerable section of real democrats in the propertied class, though it is not likely that there were many μέσοι outside it. We have therefore in 411 some number considerably less than 9000 fixed as the superior limit to which the total of the Middle Party could *possibly* have attained. On the other hand, considering that the pretended institution of the 5000 was merely a bait to attract members of that Party by offering them a share in the government, it is not likely that their numbers were at the time *less* than 5000. We may conclude therefore that a fair estimate of the number of the Middle Party in 412 would be something over, but not much over, 5000. At the beginning of the war they may have been considerably more numerous, but until practical questions arose of sufficient interest to excite and define party feeling (e.g. questions of war and peace) it would only be misleading to try and draw a line between two parties which overlapped so much as those of democracy pure and simple and of the modified democracy which was the political ideal of the Moderates.

It will be seen therefore that although the oligarchs and the Middle Party together may never perhaps have numbered one third of the whole state, a combination between the two would always have been extremely dangerous for the democracy. The political clubs of the oligarchs would supply a most complete and formidable means of secret organisation<sup>2</sup>, while the reputation and influence of such men as Nicias and Theramenes would go far to disarm opposition until too late. Moreover experience and ability would be largely on the side of the revolutionists. What had hitherto made such a combination impossible was that the Moderates had far more sympathy with the democrats than with the oligarchs. They were not likely to combine with the latter without some guarantee that the power should remain in their own hands. Moreover they had no sufficient motive for proceeding to extremities against the democrats.

Possibility of  
a combination  
between oli-  
garchs and  
moderates.

<sup>1</sup> Beloch *Bevölkerung der griech.-rom. Welt*, p. 70 (quoted by Whibley).

<sup>2</sup> cp. note on c. 48, 2.

It was only after the Sicilian disaster that such a motive was found. It was then clear that the Athenians could not carry on the war without fresh supplies of money and all sources of money seemed to be exhausted unless they could obtain subsidies from Persia. At this juncture Alcibiades came forward with proposals to secure them substantial aid from Tissaphernes, if he himself were recalled to Athens, and the democracy somewhat modified. Brilliant as his promises were, the mass of the citizens were slow to accept the conditions they involved. Even when the armament at Samos had been talked over for the moment, Pisander met with much opposition at Athens. But his argument of necessity was a strong one, and he urged it remorselessly<sup>1</sup>, holding out at the same time the plausible though delusive security that the government should be in the hands of the 5000—a body never formally constituted, and never intended to be constituted<sup>2</sup>. In this way a motive was supplied to the Moderates for definitely breaking with the democracy, and at the same time a means was found of quieting their distrust of the oligarchs.

The occasion was in other respects a favourable one. The great preponderance of democratic feeling at Samos proves that the absence of the armament must have considerably weakened the democrats at Athens. Moreover two reforms much desired by the Moderates, *viz.* abolition of pay for public service, and limitation of the power of the assembly, were already being forced upon the state by the course which the war had taken. The need of retrenchment had made the first an absolute necessity, and the recent experience of the rashness with which the ecclesia might embark upon vast undertakings had already brought about the institution of the *πρόβουλοι*<sup>3</sup>, a committee whose functions are not accurately known, but who certainly exercised some practical control over the measures to be brought before the people. The institution of this committee was doubtless due to the action of the Moderates and shows that their influence was now considerable. In fact it may be said that at no previous time in Athenian history since the settlement of the constitution by Cleisthenes had there seemed such fair prospect of success for a combination of malcontents against the democracy.

Alcibiades was well informed of the state of affairs. Having failed to obtain a sufficiently commanding position either at Sparta or in Persia, he was now devoting himself to securing the recovery of his influence at Athens. Accord-

Action of Alcibiades, and his objects.

<sup>1</sup> Thuc. viii, 53.

<sup>2</sup> *ib.* 66.

<sup>3</sup> Thuc. viii, 1, 3. Aristot. *Rhet.* iii, 18, 2.

ingly in the last three months of 412 he began to make cautious advances to some of the leaders of the armament at Samos, proposing an anti-democratic revolution. It may be asked why Alcibiades, being as all must assuredly have realised οὐκ ἐπιτήδειος ἐς ὀλιγαρχίαν κατελθεῖν, should ever have proposed to throw in his lot with the oligarchs. His real ambition was doubtless to fill the place which Pericles had so brilliantly occupied as προστάτης τοῦ δήμου, and in any case it was upon the democracy that he must depend for effective support. There appear to have been two main considerations which influenced him. First he wished Athens to feel the need of him, and hoped to be called in to rescue the state from confusion. Secondly his assertion that he would never come back to a democracy was so far true that he could not afford to return while the present leaders of the democracy, such as Androcles, were in power. A revolution in which he would have the machinery of the oligarchic clubs at his disposal offered an admirable opportunity for getting rid of his most formidable rivals<sup>1</sup>. That object once gained he could venture to present himself as the leader of a restored democracy, and it was in fact in this character that he did actually return.

Thus all the parties to the revolution had their own ends to serve, and none of them were acting in perfectly good faith. Alcibiades was using the oligarchs to bring about his restoration to his country, and fully intended to play them false. They themselves were well aware of this, and contemplated throwing him over when he had served their turn. The Middle Party were being imposed upon by the oligarchs with the delusive prospect of political reforms, and thus induced to acquiesce in measures which they cannot have contemplated without misgiving. The democrats were somewhat dazzled by the prestige of Alcibiades, and all parties were casting covetous glances at the Persian gold. A movement founded upon such a basis could have no solid results. It was soon clear that Alcibiades was unable to fulfil his promises. Yet in spite of this the oligarchs and the Moderates pushed on their revolution, though their professed object and justification, *viz.* the advantages to be gained from the support of Tissaphernes, had to be abandoned. The democrats at Samos were no sooner freed from coercion than they felt a reaction in favour of their old constitution. The oligarchs at Athens behaved with such cruel and cynical violence that they completely alienated Theramenes and his party. It was the defection of the Moderates on realising that they had been deceived which put an end to the revolution. In 411 they were strong enough to do this, and great credit is due to them

Mixed motives of the various parties to the revolution.

Defection of the Moderates from the oligarchs ends the revolution.

<sup>1</sup> This was thoroughly understood and acted upon; *v.* Thuc. viii, 65, 2.

and to the democrats for the tact and determination with which they retrieved their mistake of throwing power into the hands of the oligarchs. A little mismanagement and ill timed impetuosity would probably have produced in that year the scenes which took place at Athens under the tyranny of the Thirty, and have allowed the Lacedaemonians to anticipate their final triumph. The statesmanlike moderation of the middle party at Samos (οἱ διὰ μέσου, cc. 75—6) and the good faith with which the more extreme democrats accepted their lead, are some of the brightest points in the rather melancholy narrative of this last chapter of

the war. Part of the credit for this is undoubtedly due to Theramenes.

Alcibiades and Theramenes. The latter has been generally decried as a turn-coat without principles or patriotism. It is hard to defend his conduct in many respects. But his resolution in abandoning the oligarchs when he found to what lengths they were prepared to go is the last thing that should be brought up against him<sup>1</sup>. In 411 he saved Athens from a reign of terror, and he lost his life in attempting to do the same in 404. For the history of the Thirty is in many respects a repetition of the history of the Four Hundred. Only the Thirty were too strong for the Moderates who tried to break off from them, while the Four Hundred were weakened and finally overthrown by a similar secession.

After the defeat of the oligarchs by Theramenes and his supporters a form of government was for a while established which almost realised the political ideal of the Middle Party. The democratic constitution was in the main restored, but the abolition of payment for all service other than military was reasserted, and the franchise was restricted to a nominal Five Thousand<sup>2</sup>. That this number was merely nominal is proved by the resolution of the assembly in the Pnyx that all who possessed the hoplite census should of right belong to it. There can hardly have been less than 9000 citizens of the hoplite census at this time, and it is stated in defence of Polystratus, one of the Four Hundred, that he actually drew up a list of 9000 who were to share in the government<sup>3</sup>. But even thus fully half of the citizens must have been disfranchised, and no doubt it was the exclusion of the poorer half of the citizens from the government which made the abolition of payment for public

<sup>1</sup> Aristotle's summary of his character is both just and interesting 'δοκεῖ μέντοι τοῖς μὴ παρέργως ἀποφαινόμενοις οὐχ ὥσπερ αὐτὸν διαβάλλουσι πᾶσας τὰς πολιτείας καταλύειν, ἀλλὰ πᾶσας προάγειν ἕως μηδὲν παρανομοῖεν, ὥς δυνάμενος πολιτεύεσθαι

κατὰ πᾶσας, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀγαθοῦ πολίτου ἔργον, παρανομούσας δὲ οὐ συγχωρῶν ἀλλ' ἀπεχθανόμενος.' (Αθ. πολ. c. 28.)

<sup>2</sup> Thuc. viii. 97.

<sup>3</sup> Lysias ὑπὲρ Πολυστрат. § 13.

services practicable. It would appear that this modified constitution did not last a year, but Thucydides tells us that Athens had never been so well governed as during the time that it was in force<sup>1</sup>. Perhaps however this was due quite as much to the fact that the Athenians had been sobered by the crisis which they had just passed through, as to any inherent merits of the form of government. In any case it may be assumed that so large a proportion of the state would not long consent to be excluded from privileges which they had once enjoyed, and it is doubtless true, as Thucydides gives us to understand<sup>2</sup>, that this compromise between oligarchy and democracy, though dear alike to the substantial citizen and the political theorist, was by practical persons regarded only as a convenient means of transition to the original democratic constitution.

### 3. *The account of the Revolution in the Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία of Aristotle.*

There is one fundamental difference between the account given by Thucydides of the Revolution of 411, and that supplied by the recently discovered Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία of Aristotle. The latter clearly distinguishes between the somewhat elaborate constitution which was ultimately to be established, and the temporary arrangements which were intended only to last for a year until the new constitution was in full working order (*v. Ἀθ. πολ. c. 31*)<sup>3</sup>. Thucydides makes no such distinction. He doubtless considered that as the temporary arrangements were the only ones which ever took effect, it was outside the province of his history to detail what was really a mere paper scheme, even though, according to Aristotle, it was actually put forward and accepted. The scheme indeed seems upon the face of it to be rather theoretical than practical. It doubtless embodied in many points the philosophical aspirations of the Middle Party, but it is clear that those in power never meant it to be more than an aspiration.

But even in the two accounts of the measures actually carried into

<sup>1</sup> Thuc. viii, 97.

<sup>2</sup> Thuc. viii, 92, 11.

<sup>3</sup> It is plainly implied by Thucydides that these temporary arrangements for the year 411—10 (which alone he describes) were determined at the assembly

at Colonus, whereas Aristotle, though very indefinite on the point, leaves the impression that they were settled at a subsequent assembly. In this particular however Thucydides' more precise account seems more deserving of credit.



effect, while there is upon the one hand a broad and general agreement, on the other there are divergencies in detail which cannot altogether be reconciled. Both the correspondence and the divergencies will most conveniently be exhibited by the abstract which is given in parallel columns upon the opposite page. It will appear on examination of this abstract that while §§ 2 and 3 are in substantial agreement there are important discrepancies both in § 1 and § 4. In the first place, in § 1 the number of the Committee is stated by Aristotle to have been Thirty, of whom ten were the old board of *πρόβουλοι* mentioned in Thuc. viii, 1, 3. Thucydides on the other hand fixes the number at ten, and gives no indication of the *πρόβουλοι* being included. This can only be regarded as an error<sup>1</sup> if we accept Aristotle's account, and it certainly appears probable both from the technical phraseology of Cleitophon's amendment<sup>2</sup> and from the detailed statement of the proposals of the Committee which follows that the writer of the *πολιτεία* here has before him trustworthy documentary evidence superior to that on which Thucydides founded his summary of these events. The fuller account was perhaps derived from the *Atthis* of Androtion, of which the compiler of the *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία* appears to have made considerable use<sup>3</sup>. Thucydides' inaccuracy, if we grant it to be such, need not cause much surprise considering the magnitude of the events at Athens which followed and must have overlaid this revolution, and the consequent difficulty of obtaining accurate information for any one who was not present at the time.

The second point in which the two narratives differ is the manner in which the Boule for 411—10 was elected. We learn from Aristotle that (1) the tribes<sup>4</sup> made a preliminary selection of more than the actual number required, (2) the complete Boule consisted of four hundred, forty from each tribe; but we are not told how the final choice was made. Thucydides gives us a much more detailed account. He says that five *πρόεδροι* were chosen, who were to elect a body of a hundred; each of these hundred was then to coopt three others, and the whole number were to form the Boule for the year. I think a point

<sup>1</sup> It does not seem to me accurate to say that Thucydides' account is "correct as far as it goes, but is less minute than that in the *Ἀθ. πολ.*" v. Dr Sandys' *Ἀθ. πολ.* 29, 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Ἀθ. πολ.* c. 29, 3, v. Dr Sandys' note.

<sup>3</sup> For the relations between the *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία* and the *Atthidographi* v. an interesting note by Mr W. L. Newman,

given by Dr Sandys in his preface to the *πολιτεία*, p. lvi. By the phrase 'the compiler of the *πολιτεία*' I do not wish to imply any theory of authorship except that the collection of material was not necessarily Aristotle's work.

<sup>4</sup> This selection by the tribes is also implied in the speech ascribed to Lysias *ὕπὲρ Πολυστράτου* § 2.

## THUCYDIDES.

1. Pisander and his friends hold an assembly (c. 67, 1) at which they propose

δέκα ἄνδρας ἐλέσθαι ξυγγραφέας αὐτοκράτορας, τούτους δὲ ξυγράψαντας γνώμην ἐσενεγκεῖν ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐς ἡμέραν ῥητὴν καθ' ὅ τι ἄριστα ἡ πόλις οἰκῆσεται.

2. When the day came the ξυγγραφῆς proposed in the Assembly

ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο, ἐξεῖναι μὲν [Ἀθηναίων] ἀνατεῖ εἰπεῖν γνώμην ἣν ἂν τις βούληται· ἣν δὲ τις τὸν εἰπόντα ἢ γράψῃται παρανόμων ἢ ἄλλῳ τῷ τρόπῳ βλάβῃ, μεγάλας ζημίας ἐπέθεσαν (c. 67, 2).

3. Then it was boldly proposed

μήτε ἀρχὴν ἄρχειν μηδεμίαν ἔτι ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κόσμου μήτε μισθοφορεῖν...

οἱ πεντακισχίλιοι are only incidentally mentioned at the end of c. 67.

4. It is resolved—

προέδρους ἐλέσθαι πέντε ἄνδρας, τούτους δὲ ἐλέσθαι ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας, καὶ τῶν ἑκατὸν ἕκαστον πρὸς ἑαυτὸν τρεῖς· ἐλθόντας δὲ αὐτοὺς τετρακοσίους ὄντας ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἄρχειν ὅπῃ ἂν ἄριστα γιγνώσκωσιν αὐτοκράτορας, καὶ τοὺς πεντακισχιλίους δὲ ξυλλέγειν ὅπουτ' αὐτοῖς δοκῇ (c. 67, 3).

## ARISTOTLE.

1. A proposal was made by Pythodorus in the Assembly (c. 29, 2)

τὸν δῆμον ἐλέσθαι μετὰ τῶν προνταρχόντων δέκα προβούλων ἄλλους εἰκοσι ἐκ τῶν ὑπὲρ τετταράκοντα ἔτη γεγονότων, οἵτινες, ὁμύσαντες ἢ μὴν συγγράψειν αἱ ἂν ἡγῶνται βέλτιστα εἶναι τῇ πόλει, συγγράψουσι περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας.

2. The committee make the following proposals in the Assembly

πρῶτον μὲν ἔγραψαν ἐπάναγκες εἶναι τοὺς πρυτάνεις ἅπαντα τὰ λεγόμενα περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ἐπιψηφίζειν, ἔπειτα τὰς τῶν παρανόμων γραφὰς καὶ τὰς εἰσαγγελίας καὶ τὰς προκλήσεις ἀνεῖλον, ὅπως ἂν οἱ ἐθέλοντες Ἀθηναίων συμβουλευέωσι περὶ τῶν προκειμένων· ἐὰν δὲ τις τούτων χάριν ἢ ζημιοῖ ἢ προσκαλῇται ἢ εἰσάγῃ εἰς δικαστήριον ἐνδείξιν αὐτοῦ εἶναι καὶ ἀπάγωγῃν πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγούς, τοὺς δὲ στρατηγούς παραδοῦναι τοῖς ἐνδεκα θανάτῳ ζημιῶσαι (c. 29, 4).

3. Then they passed the following resolutions

τὰ μὲν χρήματα τὰ προσίοντα μὴ ἐξεῖναι ἄλλοσε δαπανῆσαι ἢ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, τὰς δ' ἀρχὰς ἀμίσθους ἄρχειν ἅσας ἕως ἂν ὁ πόλεμος ᾖ, πλὴν τῶν ἐννέα ἀρχόντων καὶ τῶν πρυτανέων οἱ ἂν ὦσιν...

τὴν δ' ἄλλην πολιτείαν ἐπιτρέψαι πᾶσαν Ἀθηναίων τοῖς δυνατωτάτοις καὶ τοῖς σώμασι καὶ τοῖς χρήμασι λητουργεῖν μὴ ἔλαττον ἢ πεντακισχιλίους, ἕως ἂν ὁ πόλεμος ᾖ (c. 29, 5).

4. It is resolved as a temporary arrangement

βουλευεῖν μὲν τετρακοσίους κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τετταράκοντα ἐξ ἐκάστης τῆς φυλῆς, ἐκ προκρίτων οὓς ἂν ἐλῶνται οἱ φυλῆται τῶν ὑπὲρ τριάκοντα ἔτη γεγονότων. τούτους δὲ τὰς τε ἀρχὰς καταστήσαι καὶ περὶ τοῦ ὄρκου ὄντινα χρὴ ὁμῶσαι γράψαι, καὶ περὶ τῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν εὐθυνῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πράττειν ἢ ἂν ἡγῶνται συμφέρεον (c. 31).

of contact between these apparently different versions is to be found in the statement of Aristotle that the Five Thousand immediately after the Assembly which inaugurated the Revolution elected ἑκατὸν ἀνδρας τοὺς ἀναγράφοντας τὴν πολιτείαν (c. 30). It is evident that these hundred men would naturally be members of the Boule for the first year. Not only would this be desirable to ensure the proper representation and support of their constitution, but it would be necessary in self-defence for the ringleaders of the movement and their immediate supporters to be members of both bodies<sup>1</sup>. It is no great stretch of probability to suppose that this Committee of a Hundred formed the first Boule by cooption. We may therefore provisionally accept the following outline as not inconsistent with the statements of Aristotle, Lysias, and Thucydides. A Committee of a Hundred was in some way chosen from the Five Thousand to draw up a new constitution and make temporary arrangements for carrying on the government. This Committee itself formed the nucleus of the Boule for the current year, and they supplemented their number by each coopting three (? fellow demesmen)<sup>2</sup> from a number of πρόκριτοι already selected by the tribes. But how was the Committee originally elected? Aristotle's assertion that it was chosen by the Five Thousand (c. 30 *init.*) conflicts with his own express statement (fully supported by Thucydides) that the Five Thousand λόγῳ μόνον ἡρέθησαν (c. 32). And even if this difficulty could be got over by attaching a very vague meaning to the term Five Thousand, it is surely incredible under the circumstances that any real freedom of election should have been permitted. The success of the revolution altogether depended upon the constitution of this important body. For so vital an object it would have been folly to trust even to terrorism and intrigue. It is I think far more probable that the course actually adopted was that described by Thucydides, and that the Committee of a Hundred were in fact selected by a smaller committee of five leaders of the Revolution.

There is of course no means of proving or disproving such conjectures as the above; but it seems worth while to point out that the differences between Thucydides' and Aristotle's narrative are at least not irreconcilable.

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Wyse points out that this was certainly the case with Polystratus who was both a καταλογεύς, and a member of the Four Hundred (Lysias *Or.* xx).

<sup>2</sup> Prof. Wyse remarks that the phrase in the speech ὑπὲρ Πολ. § 13 ὅτι αὐτῷ διάφορος εἴη τῶν δημοτῶν looks very

much as if each καταλογεύς enrolled the members of his own deme. If that were so it would naturally follow that he would coopt three members of his own deme on to the Boule. It is not known whether the 100 Cleisthenean demes had been much increased at this time.

It is indeed quite possible that even immediately after the events very different accounts were in circulation of the way in which these matters were arranged. Only an inner circle could ever have known the truth, and few of them can have survived the fall of the Thirty Tyrants. The temporary arrangements designed to meet a special emergency are just those of which no authentic record would be likely to remain, though the more formal constitution proposed for the future, even if never meant seriously, would probably be more fully preserved. There are however very serious difficulties in understanding the details of the permanent scheme as described by Aristotle. It would be foreign to our present purpose to enter into a full discussion of these, as they have no direct bearing upon Thucydides' narrative. It will not however be out of place to mention the method by which the Boule was to be elected for the future. All members of the Five Thousand who were over thirty years of age were to be divided into four equal groups<sup>1</sup>. Each of these groups successively, in an order to be decided by lot, was to furnish the Boule for one year. The actual selection of the Four Hundred Bouleutai from the particular group was to be by lot, under the supervision of the Archons<sup>2</sup>. In this way the oligarchs would realise their promise that all the Five Thousand in turn should be members of the Four Hundred<sup>3</sup>. The summary here given ignores many disputable points. I do not think that a full elucidation of the details of the constitution of the Four Hundred in the *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία* can be offered without ampler information than we possess, or without having before us the *Atthis* from which it was partly derived. But there is at least one gain which the reader of Thucydides derives from it. It helps us to realise the professed conservative tendency of the Revolution, and the spirit of compromise which, in appearance at least, pervaded it. It thus becomes easier to understand how it secured the support of the moderate party. In this connexion Cleitophon's amendment has special significance: *προσαναζητῆσαι δὲ τοὺς αἰρεθέντας ἔγραψεν καὶ τοὺς πατέριους νόμους οὓς Κλεισθένης ἔθηκεν ὅτε καθίστη τὴν δημοκρατίαν, ὅπως ἂν ἀκούσαντες καὶ τούτων βουλευόμενοι τὸ ἄριστον, ὥς οὐ δημοτικὴν ἀλλὰ παραπλησίαν οὖσαν τὴν Κλεισθέους πολιτείαν τῇ Σόλωνος*. There is perhaps a similar intention in such phrases as *βουλευεῖν μὲν*

<sup>1</sup> τοὺς δὲ ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας διανεῖμαι σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τέτταρα μέρη ὡς ἰσαίτατα καὶ διακληρώσαι, καὶ εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν βουλευεῖν ('Αθ. πολ. 30 § 3). The *ἑκατὸν ἄνδρες* here are those appointed (c. 29 *ad fin.*) to draw up a list of the 5000.

When the list is drawn up they are to divide it into 4 groups.

<sup>2</sup> κληροῦν δὲ τὴν βουλὴν τοὺς ἐννέα ἀρχοντας ('Αθ. πολ. 30 § 4); cp. Dr Sandys' note *ad loc.*

<sup>3</sup> Thuc. viii, 86, 3.

τετρακοσίους κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, and we find more than once an implication that the new state of affairs is provisional in the insertion of the restriction *ὥς ἂν ὁ πόλεμος ᾗ*. On the whole it may be said that, though Aristotle's account introduces new difficulties and somewhat uncomfortably disturbs our confidence in the completeness if not in the accuracy of Thucydides' narrative, it undoubtedly tends to make the Revolution of 411 more intelligible from the historical point of view.

#### 4. *General characteristics of the MSS.*

There has been some tendency of late to discredit the manuscripts of Thucydides, and to assert that they are disfigured by almost every fault which it is possible for a manuscript to exhibit. The most recent exponent of this view, Dr Rutherford, says of them "we have a number of manuscripts all bad and none better than the other, each exhibiting every kind of conceivable mistake, and presenting a text in its most debased stage...<sup>1</sup>." Such general anathemas can hardly pretend to accuracy, and if our object is rather to constitute a satisfactory text of our author than to make out a telling case against his transcribers, we shall do better to enquire whether there are not some limits within which the mss. have a reasonable degree of authority. It will then perhaps be possible to arrive at principles by the application of which, within these limits, we may obtain good results. But if such an enquiry is to be fruitful it is necessary first to satisfy ourselves whether it is true that the mss. are all upon one dead level of degeneracy. If that be really the case we can hardly hope to evolve any sound principles of selection where they differ. But fortunately it is very far from being the case. Even a cursory examination of the readings of the seven mss. (*viz.* ABCEFGM) which Stahl, and more lately Hude, have chosen for the basis of their text, is sufficient to produce a strong presumption in their favour. It would be unreasonable to suppose that this list is final or exhaustive, but their representative character and their collective superiority to any other group or groups cannot seriously be questioned. A very simple test will give some measure of it. Dr Rutherford in his chapter on emendation quotes a number of examples of the corruptions of which he is speaking. If we take some of these at random, we find that out of the first twenty instances of confusion of

<sup>1</sup> "The fourth Book of Thuc." p. lx.

prepositions given in the note to p. lxii., only four<sup>1</sup> occur in any of our seven mss., and two of these only in one of them. Similarly out of fourteen instances in the following note the same mss. supply but three<sup>1</sup>. But this fact is not noted, and the sweeping condemnation founded upon these thirty-four examples is applied to all the mss. in the same degree. Such treatment surely leaves us worse off than before. We are fully aware that certain types of error commonly appear in Greek mss. What needs investigation is the extent to which the mss. upon which our text must be based are severally vitiated by these errors. And so far as Dr Rutherford supplies any indication at all of this, his indications are simply misleading. A fuller account of the seven mss. in question will be given in the following section; for the present it is sufficient to remark that the value of our authorities must be decided by reference to the best of them and not to the worst.

What degree of accuracy are we entitled to expect from the mss. we have thus selected? First it is quite clear that as to the actual spelling and forms of the words Thucydides wrote they can give us little or no help. Inscriptions show that even at the time when he wrote there was no absolute uniformity in such matters, and it would be contrary to experience that copies made over a long period when gradual changes of form and spelling were in progress should adhere letter for letter to their prototype. That regard for historical truth which alone can preserve the actual letter of a written text is not likely to be felt at the time by a copyist to whom a slightly archaic form is but an exploded fashion of yesterday. In fact the text of Thucydides has been systematically modernised in successive recensions, and some of our best and earliest mss. give such spellings as *σύν*, *φυλάττειν*, *οὐθέν*. Mistakes of this class however are comparatively easy to remedy, and are objectionable upon aesthetic rather than literary and general grounds. Unfortunately there are many points more directly affecting the sense in which the authority of all the mss. together is so little to be trusted that it would often be unsound criticism to follow them in opposition to external considerations of fitness or probability. The abbreviations employed by cursive copyists have in this respect much to answer for. For instance, the difference between *ποιῆσαι* and *ποιῆσειν*, and many other such pairs of words, is practically non-existent for the mss. with which we have to deal, and to retain one in deference to their authority where Attic usage demands the other, is to misapprehend altogether the

<sup>1</sup> I have consulted the ordinary collations (Bekker, Poppe, &c.) only. Pro-

bably some margin should be allowed, but I think not a great one.

nature of the evidence. But when we have fully admitted these limitations, and recognised besides that our MSS. contain at least their share of all the types of error to which MSS. are liable, is the case so desperate after all? What is the practical result as regards the eighth book, the text of which is probably in a worse condition than that of any of the others? Some eight or ten passages remain in which, though the general meaning is fairly clear, there is such serious confusion of the construction that we can only apply provisional remedies without much hope of commanding general assent. There are indeed many times that number of places in which we cannot pronounce with absolute certainty which of two or three possible alternatives Thucydides may have written. But this want of certainty as a rule is absolutely unimportant, and affects neither the style nor the sense. In such passages we may well be content with the strong degree of probability which careful criticism can supply.

If then the MSS. of Thucydides, though untrustworthy in certain points, yet form a fair basis for the construction of a text, what is the meaning of the sweeping and unqualified condemnation often passed upon them? Perhaps the explanation lies in the fact that the complete destruction of their credit is sometimes regarded as a necessary preliminary to the statement of fresh charges which thus become more credible. In the case already mentioned we cannot but believe that Dr Rutherford would have tempered the vigour of his attack, were it not that his views as to the extent to which interpolation has invaded the text of Thucydides are closely bound up with an admission of the general worthlessness of our authorities. These views of Dr Rutherford are brilliantly stated, and the question is sufficiently important to make it advisable that any one who feels bound to differ from him should indicate his reasons for so doing. That there are interpolations of many different types in the text of Thucydides is now generally admitted, and from time to time particular instances have been pointed out. But what has hitherto been required in all but the most trifling cases, before judgment can be pronounced upon them, is either some one argument approximating to actual proof, or at least a strong concurrence of probabilities. Thus in c. 77 *οἱ δέκα πρεσβευταί* may fairly be pronounced an interpolation, because all the MSS. agree in *πρεσβευταί* (for *πρέσβεις*), which it is impossible to believe that Thucydides wrote. Nor is it unreasonable in c. 6, 3 to bracket the words *θεν...ἐκαλείτο*, because (*v. note ad loc.*) there is a strong concurrence of probabilities against their genuineness. Sometimes Dr Rutherford works upon these principles, and he does so with great acuteness and success. In particular

he has much to say with regard to the unnecessary insertion of pronouns, proper names, and official descriptions of persons (*z.* p. xlvi) which has probably never been so forcibly said before. But the distinctive feature of his method is that he does not care to examine individual cases too closely, but disposes of "adscripts" wholesale by the aid of general principles. Sometimes such generalisations turn out to be a very misleading half-statement of facts. Let us consider a few of the principles upon which he pronounces words to be interpolations. One of the first is a variation of the order of the words in different mss. (p. xxxvii *ad fin.*). If this argument is to be used at all it is very necessary to keep in view the nature of our authorities. It must be remembered first that our mss. break up into groups all (apparently) derived from one not very remote ancestor. Secondly that with one or two possible exceptions the late and inferior mss. seem to have no sort of independence except in the errors which they exhibit. Thirdly that inversion in the order of unimportant words is a common phenomenon in almost all the mss. and especially in the later ones, and there are numerous instances where such inversion is totally unconnected with the genuineness of the words. The chances are therefore enormous that where words occur without variation in all the principal mss., a different order in one or two later mss. is merely due to individual error. To suppose anything else is to imply that (*e.g.*) a fifteenth century ms., which shows great affinities with the earlier mss. which we possess and no demonstrable independence of them, has yet in one or two points preserved from an independent source traces of a time when the reading which was found in the prototype of our oldest mss. was unsettled. Such a supposition becomes still more incredible when the variation is confined to one or two mss. out of a closely related group. In fact it may be said generally that variations in the distinctly inferior mss. of any group, which are not supported by other members of that group, are extremely likely to be individual errors. These considerations are not apparently taken into account by Dr Rutherford. He treats the variations of the Mosquensis and the inferior Paris mss. as so many independent phenomena upon which conclusions can be grounded.

Or again, let us take the class of explanatory interpolations introduced by a relative pronoun, adverb, or conjunction, of which our text undoubtedly affords many examples. It is likely that in the great majority of such cases the words upon the genuineness of which we have to form an opinion will in themselves be fairly appropriate or even a distinct gain to the passage in which they occur. It must often be admitted that Thucydides might have written them, even if he did not



actually do so. It can hardly therefore be safe to generalise upon such points unless we have investigated with some care the practice of Thucydides in this particular. For instance, it would almost appear from the remarks on p. xlv. that Dr Rutherford regards the whole class of parenthetical remarks of which ὥσπερ παρεσκευάζοντο (iv, 2, 2) and ὥσπερ διεννοῦντο (iv, 75, 1) are types, as spurious. Now it is undoubtedly a characteristic of Thucydides when he resumes a broken thread of his narrative to refer to the circumstances or events at which he broke off. Instances of this are very numerous, e.g. viii, 33, 1 ὁ δὲ Ἀστυόχος ὡς τότε ἐν τῇ Χίῳ ἔτυχε διὰ τὴν προδοσίαν τοὺς ὁμήρους καταλεγόμενος, τούτου μὲν ἐπέσχεν κτλ. cp. also viii, 17, 1. It is surely not unreasonable to regard viii, 4, 1 παρεσκευάζοντο δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι ὥσπερ διεννόησαν as a similar reference to plans very fully described when the Athenians were last mentioned. And if this is genuine why not ὥσπερ ἐπέσχετο in c. 17, 2, and how is any *general* criterion to be established by which such clauses can be rejected? The same difficulties occur in dealing with the more complicated clauses introduced by ὅπερ &c. It is only in comparatively few cases that we can do more than prove that they *might* have been written by an annotator, and we can hardly condemn them, as Dr Rutherford seems inclined to do, on that ground alone, when we know that similar clauses actually were written by Thucydides.

Another argument of a very dangerous sort when applied as a criterion of the genuineness of any given passage, is that which is derived from the supposed 'regularity' and 'simplicity' of Thucydides' style. We are told by Classen that the characteristic of Thucydides as a writer is his "simplicity and naturalness," and properly understood this contains a certain truth. But when Dr Rutherford talks about "page after page of the most regular and transparent of styles," and goes on to found upon such an estimate of his author arguments for cutting out obscurities in the text, we do not think that many will agree with him. Thucydides is simple and natural because he takes his instrument of language simply, and does the very best he can to get all his meaning into it. But grammatical regularity and easiness of style depends upon something very different from this, and in spite of the 'naturalness' of Thucydides' method the result is not always either lucid or regular.

In fact the whole question at issue between those who see interpolations everywhere in the text of Thucydides and more cautious critics is this. Are we to regard this particular form of corruption as one which owing to special facilities has invaded the text in a very special degree?

We find that in those matters which we can definitely test (*i.e.* in cases where there is a clear right and wrong of written words) our mss. are, within certain limits, of average, though in no case of very high, merit. May we not suppose that in the matter of interpolation too they are at least not abnormally bad? I believe this to be the true view, as well as the only safe one. The rejection of words and phrases as spurious, if carried to any great and unnecessary length, becomes at once a matter of individual opinion, and it is only in proportion as the individual element is excluded from criticism that it is likely to produce any real improvement upon the text of an author.

Perhaps there is not much more to be learnt from our existing mss. of Thucydides. A convenient summary of the evidence of a selected few, such as Dr Hude has already given us for books vi.—viii., and will ultimately we hope supply for the earlier books, may reasonably be held to contain all that is most important for the constitution of the text. A complete collation of M is still to be desired, but M is not a ms. whose evidence gains weight on closer acquaintance. Occasionally too readings might be added from later mss. such as the Paris H or the Cambridge T which are second hand copies of some of our better authorities. But the data are before us in fair completeness. From time to time one or another disputed passage will be settled by happy conjecture or acute inference; but no large or rapid advance is to be expected under present conditions. In spite of this however there is a sufficient basis for scientific treatment of the text. Nothing shows this more clearly than the unquestionable superiority of a representative text of the present day to that presented by any one ms. To recognise the nature and the weakness of the evidence at our disposal is of primary importance, but to confuse all distinctions and differences in a general pessimism would be an effectual bar to solid and lasting progress.

### 5. *Description of MSS.*

Probably no selection from the multitude of Thucydidean mss. will be universally received as authoritative and final. But it may at least be claimed that the list of seven already referred to (p. xxvi) is fairly representative and complete. I have accordingly confined myself to these mss. in the critical notes of the present edition. The following is a brief description of them drawn from various sources.

A. *Cisalpinus* (Poppo's *Italus*). XIIth century. A large folio

on parchment, consisting of 291 leaves, with scholia in the original hand for the first half, in a later hand for the second. Brought from Venice to Paris after the revolutionary wars, and rediscovered in the Bibliothèque nationale by Rudolf Prinz in 1869, after being lost sight of for 54 years. It was collated by Bekker in 1812, and again with great minuteness by A. Croiset for his edition of Thucydides, only two books of which have yet appeared.

B. *Vaticanus*. XIth century. A smaller folio on parchment, with 188 leaves and 30—32 lines to a page. Full of contractions, with scholia in the original hand. First collated by Bekker. Hude published a collation of books vii. and viii. in 1888 which was afterwards embodied in his text of 1890. For book viii. Classen gives a classified list of readings. Now in the Vatican library, no. 152.

C. *Laurentianus*. Xth century. A large folio on parchment, written in bold round characters, 27 lines to a page. A few scholia by the original hand, more by a later. The first 6 leaves are recent. Bekker's collation for his edition of Thucydides (completed in the Sitzungsberichte der Berl. Akad. 1855, pp. 476 ff.) leaves much to be desired. Hude's, for books vi.—viii., seems accurate and thorough. My friend Mr Walter Headlam, of King's College, Cambridge, has been kind enough to make a careful collation of book viii. for me, as well as to examine more minutely some particular passages. The results are given in the critical notes of this edition. The ms. is in the Laurentian library at Florence, compartment 69, MS. 2.

E. *Palatinus*. XIth century. A large folio on parchment of 326 leaves, and 32 lines to a page. Few scholia, and those recent. Collated for Poppo, and partly by Bekker. Recently for Hude's critical text of books vi.—viii. In the library at Heidelberg, no. 252.

F. *Augustanus*. Dated 1301. A large folio on parchment with 267 leaves, eight by a later hand. Originally at Augsburg, now no. 430 in the Munich library. First collated by Gottleber and Bauer. Also for Hude.

G. *Monacensis*. XIIIth century. A quarto ms. of 223 leaves on papyrus. The upper margin is much damaged, and from 5 to 7 lines are generally lost. Collated by Göller, Bekker, Hude. No. 228 in the Munich library.

M. *Britannicus*. XIth century. A quarto ms. on parchment, consisting of 249 leaves of 27 lines each. Mr E. C. Marchant, who has recently studied it, says "The writing is very good, but there are constant and absurd blunders. It is much corrected by a later hand. Pp. i. and viii. are supplied by a more recent hand; pp. xxv.—xxxiii.

and p. xl. by a third hand." It was collated for Haase in 1867, and the collation was used by Stahl for his critical text of 1873. For book viii. I have examined all passages that seemed important, but have not made a complete collation. In the British Museum, xi. 727.

[W. *Faiūmensis*. There is also in existence the fragment of a papyrus, written in uncial characters, of much earlier date than any of these mss., which contains parts of cc. 91 and 92. Unfortunately its readings are of little value, as will be seen in the critical notes *ad loc.* It was discovered at Fayoum in central Egypt, and published in facsimile by Wessely (*Wiener Studien* vii, 116 ff.).]

The letter by which each ms. has generally been distinguished, and by which it is denoted in this edition, is in every case prefixed to its description. As however there are a large number of passages in which all the seven mss. except B agree, I have indicated such agreement in the critical notes by AC &c., instead of printing ACEFGM in full. Alternative readings given in the mss. themselves, though not as part of the text, are generally introduced by the word *γράφεται*. They are accordingly distinguished in the critical notes by prefixing the letters γρ. (e.g. γρ. A).

In considering the relations of the above mss. to one another we must at first, for reasons which will presently appear, leave B out of the question. Of the rest AEF form one group and CG another, A and C being very much superior to the rest. F follows A pretty closely, as G follows C<sup>1</sup>, while E is rather more divergent. M holds an intermediate position, agreeing generally with A, but sometimes with C. It is however carelessly transcribed, omissions due to resemblance or recurrence of words being particularly frequent<sup>2</sup>.

We have next to consider the position of B. For the first six books it is merely the best ms. of the A group, so that for these books we have only two main groups to consider, the first consisting of BAEF in order of merit, the second of CG. M is intermediate between the two, but agrees more often with the first. Neither of these groups can be regarded as decisively superior to the other. Classen's zealous advocacy of the merits of the *Vaticanus*, and A. Schöne's defence of the *Laurentian*, have only made it clear that we can dispense with neither. But a comparison of the two groups, with such additional assistance as we can

<sup>1</sup> Good examples of the correspondence of C and G, and their relation to other mss., are to be found in a complete collation of c. 52 of this book, and in such words as *ἐχρήσαντο* (for *ἐχώρησαν*)

c. 40, 2. *προεργαστο* c. 65, 3. *τεθνήκωσι* c. 74 *ad fin.*

<sup>2</sup> There are three important ones in c. 23.

get from M, will generally give us a clue for the determination of the text.

For the last two books however the conditions are somewhat altered. From c. 94 of book vi. the character of B changes. Its readings become more independent and valuable, and it may plausibly be maintained that from this point at least it is superior to our other MSS. Hence it happens that for these books the characteristic divergencies of our two groups AEF and CG, though still maintained, become relatively less important, and the MSS. henceforward seem rather to classify themselves as B on the one side, and all the rest upon the other.

For practical purposes then B may almost be regarded as two different MSS., the division falling at the end of book vi<sup>1</sup>. Our first enquiry is naturally as to the origin and meaning of this peculiarity.

The distinctive characteristics of the latter part of B are briefly these :

(1) There are a considerable number of places (between 20 and 30 in book viii.) where the order of unimportant words in B differs from that given in the other MSS., the difference being generally a matter of style rather than of sense, *e.g.* ἔχων ἦλθεν instead of ἦλθεν ἔχων, or τῶν ὑφ' αὐτοῦ λεχθέντων for τῶν λεχθ. ὑφ' αὐτοῦ.

(2) Words are frequently inserted which, though they help the sense, are in no way necessary to it, and which occur in no other MS. *e.g.* c. 10, 1, ἐπηγγέλθησαν γὰρ [αἱ σπονδαί]. c. 21, νειμάμενοι [κατεῖχον]. This is particularly common in book viii., and it is not always easy to decide whether such words are genuine. Sometimes, as in the first instance quoted, they certainly are not.

(3) Special attention and acuteness is shown in dealing with verbs compounded with prepositions, the correct form being frequently preserved in B alone, *e.g.* ξυν[δια]πολεμήσασαι, 13. ξυν[αν]αιρεθήσεσθαι, 24, 5. It would be difficult to say whether such cases are mostly due to careful copying, or to happy conjecture.

(4) B constantly gives verbs in a different tense from that which occurs in the other MSS.; cp. viii, 81, 3, πιστεύσῃ, 105, 3, ἡμύναντο.

<sup>1</sup> Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, who was I believe the first to fix c. 94 of book vi. as the point of the new departure in B, states also that from this point the scholia begin to preserve various readings which correspond closely (as B does itself in the first 6 books) with A. We

might therefore, if it were worth while, keep our groups unaltered for books vii. and viii. as follows (1) γρ. B AEF, (2) CG, and treat B itself (from vi, 94 onwards) as a new MS. only preserved in part. v. W. M. *Curæ Thuc. Gottingæ* 1885.

(5) In doubtful passages B helps us more often and more consistently than any other single ms. to the right reading. It can hardly be questioned that in some cases the writer of the prototype of B restored it by conjecture. He clearly does not hesitate to alter the text where he thinks it necessary, and sometimes in doing so shows less than his usual perspicacity; cp. c. 30, 1, οἱ... Ἀθηναῖοι. c. 44, ἐπικηρυκεύμενοι. c. 39, χάριν τοῦ ξυμπαροκομισθῆναι. c. 48, 4, δὲ οὐδὲν περισπτόν. There are however many instances in which the superior reading of B seems due not to conjecture, but to a better text correctly copied.

All these facts together point to the conclusion that the latter part of B is the result of a somewhat free, but on the whole judicious recension of a text itself in many respects better than that of our other mss. This would almost necessarily imply that the prototype<sup>1</sup> of B was copied from two distinct mss. It may be indeed that for some reason the author of the recension of the two latter books did not as a matter of fact apply the same treatment to the first six, but it is hardly possible to believe, with Classen, that he deliberately treated books vii. and viii. upon a different principle from the rest on the ground that they had never received a final revision from their author.

But whatever may be the origin of our present text of B, its importance for books vii. and viii. is undeniable. At the same time it must be borne in mind that,

- (1) It clearly contains a certain amount of conjecture.
- (2) It is convicted in some places, and suspected in many, of inserting words and phrases to improve sense or construction.

It is therefore to be regarded (for the latter part) rather as the text of an able editor working with considerable advantages, than as the result of mechanical copyings of a received original, and it seems desirable here to give in more detail the principles upon which I conceive it should be treated in forming a text for book viii.<sup>2</sup>

The chief points of difference between B and the other mss. in the last two books have already been stated as,

- (1) frequent inversion of the order of words,
- (2) insertion of words or phrases,
- (3) variation in regard to verbs compounded with prepositions,
- (4) differences of tense.

<sup>1</sup> B has of course been more than once recopied since the text as there given first took shape.

<sup>2</sup> For much detailed information as to

the *Vaticanus v.* a dissertation by J. Eggert de *Vatic. Codicis auctoritate* (Berlin 1882); though many of his conclusions are questionable.

In each of these cases it is necessary to arrive at some principle for estimating the value of B's unsupported evidence. I will indicate very briefly in each particular the grounds upon which I have proceeded.

(1) There are in B upwards of 50 instances of inversion in the order of words in books vii. and viii., of which each book supplies about half. Upon the majority of these it is impossible to decide with certainty, but it will be found that in book viii. fourteen, or more than half of these variants, are accepted by Bekker and the majority of subsequent editors. Classen would admit a far larger number. Controversy about special cases would be endless, but I think that most would agree upon a review of the whole that the proportion given fairly represents the value of B's evidence in this particular point. We may conclude therefore that on a priori grounds B is as likely as the other mss. combined to be right about a certain order of words, but not more likely than they. The decision must depend upon internal evidence where it is to be had, and the weight of B's authority in other matters should not be allowed to force upon us capricious alterations.

(2) Of the words in B which are not given by any other ms., a certain number are undoubtedly genuine (*e.g.* *ἱππῆς* vi, 98, 1, *ξυνεπολέμει* viii, 46, 5), about an equal number may be unhesitatingly rejected, and there is a large floating middle class upon which judgments will vary. The best way of coming to a conclusion about this doubtful class, is to consider the origin of those words which we admit to be spurious. B shows a marked tendency to interpolate in order both to explain the sense (*e.g.* vi, 96, 4 *τὰ ἐπιτήδεια* [σιτία], vii, 3, 5 *τῷ [μεγάλῳ] λιμένι*) and to simplify the construction (*e.g.* viii, 10, 1 *ἐπηγγέλθησαν γὰρ [αἱ σπονδαί]*, viii, 39, 4 *[χάριν] τοῦ ξυμπαροκομισθῆναι*). Therefore when either of these motives is obviously present the *unsupported* authority of B will not carry much weight. On the other hand in the absence of these motives B is fairly trustworthy, and we cannot disregard a word inserted in B merely because we are better without it, as that may even be a guarantee of its genuineness.

(3) In many of the cases where B gives a verb compounded with a preposition instead of the simple verb, internal evidence can help us little, for such prepositions would naturally only be supplied where appropriate, and the author of the recension of B certainly had considerable insight into Thucydidean usage. I should start however with a strong presumption in favour of such forms as would be particularly liable to alteration by copyists, as this gives a reasonable explanation of the differences of the other mss. These will be for the most part verbs compounded with two prepositions, *e.g.* *ξυν[αν]έπειθε* vii, 21, 3, *ξυν[δια]*

πολεμήσασαι viii, 13, ξυν[αν]αρεθήσεσθαι viii, 24, 5, and a few others such as ἐπέπλει viii, 39, 1, which involve well-known causes of clerical error. But in cases where there is no obvious reason for the omission of the preposition by copyists assuming it to have been genuine, I should only accept the single testimony of B where the sense really requires it, and should be especially suspicious of the insertion of ἐπὶ, for which B has a marked liking.

(4) The variations in tense in the Vatican are very numerous, and though some of them are clearly improvements (*e.g.* διαπεπολεμήσεται vii, 14, 3, καταβαλεν vii, 44, 8, πιστεύσῃ viii, 81, 3), the impression produced by a perusal of the whole number is undoubtedly that the reviser made alterations throughout on his own responsibility. The bulk of these are quite possible though unimportant (*e.g.* ἔφυγον for ἔφευγον viii, 4, 2, ἦσθάνοντο for ἦσθοντο viii, 9, 1), but it is difficult to feel much confidence in them when we consider that many similar variants (*e.g.* ἐτύγγανε for ἔτυχε vii, 2, 4, προσβαλούσας for προσβαλλούσας viii, 35, 2) must certainly be rejected. Having regard therefore to the ease with which these alterations may be made, and the undoubted fact that the reviser of B allows himself considerable license in respect of them, I should rate B's unsupported authority somewhat lower in the matter of tense than in most other respects, and always require some considerations of intrinsic fitness to back it.

The above remarks omit many of the minor characteristics of B, and the disturbance in practice of the principles enunciated is so considerable, that I should not have tried to formulate them at all were it not that Classen shows so great, and, I venture to think, undue deference to the bare authority of this ms. The general value of B is indisputable, and in working through the latter books one is so impressed with it that it becomes necessary to lay down what may appear to be the limits within which its authority may reasonably be followed. As to the readings to be recorded in addition to the actual text, after repeated comparisons of the collations of the seven mss. mentioned before, I have found it very difficult to decide upon any consistent plan. Many obvious mistakes in the mss. may for one reason or another be more interesting to the reader than even a very plausible alternative. At the same time some readings that are possible may be omitted as immaterial. Common clerical errors and peculiarities in the mss. have only been recorded in the critical notes where they seemed to have some interest or significance; *e.g.* in c. 30, l. 1 I have not felt it necessary to reproduce exactly the reading of B οἱ ἐν τῇ σάμμῳ ἀθηναῖοι. For collations, with the exception of Mr Headlam's collation of the Laurentianus and such



parts of M as I have myself examined, I have been dependent upon the work of previous editors. I had formed my text and written the critical notes before the publication of Hude's excellent critical edition, but I am under considerable obligation to it, especially for fuller information as to the readings of EFG. I have also made much use of Stahl's stereotype edition of 1873.

## 6. *On some points connected with Book VIII.*

It is not necessary to discuss the question of the genuineness of the eighth book of Thucydides. There is not, and never has been, any real possibility of doubt. Even the suggestion that it was edited and revised by Xenophon had no better basis to rest upon than the fact that Xenophon wrote a continuation of it in his *Hellenica*. Nevertheless an impression seems to survive that it has certain characteristics which distinctly separate it from the earlier books. The two points of difference most commonly alleged are (1) the absence of speeches, (2) the supposed occurrence of words, phrases, or constructions which are not found elsewhere in Thucydides' history. As to the first of these the fact is undeniable. The significance of it is a more difficult matter. Professor Jebb in his essay on the Speeches of Thucydides in "*Hellenica*" explains with great clearness and cogency the principles upon which Thucydides introduced speeches in his history. He says, "A speech or debate reported in the direct form always signalises a noteworthy point in the inner or mental history of the war, as distinguished from the narrative of its external facts: it announces thoughts and arguments which exercised an important influence, and which therefore require to be apprehended with the utmost possible distinctness." Tested by this criterion Prof. Jebb finds that "perhaps the only point in the extant part of the eighth book at which the usual practice of Thucydides would lead us to expect the dramatic emphasis" is in explaining the use which Alcibiades was making of the war to procure his return. And there, as he points out, we have it in Pisander's words "τοῦτο τοίνυν οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν γενέσθαι, εἰ μὴ πολιτεύσομέν τε σωφρονέστερον καὶ ἐς ὀλίγους μᾶλλον τὰς ἀρχὰς ποιήσομεν, ἵνα πιστεύῃ ἡμῖν βασιλεύς, κ.τ.λ." (c. 53, 3).

This argument seems to me very just. To us no doubt the constitutional changes in 411 are of engrossing interest, and might seem to merit a fuller and more dramatic exposition. But the man who would not turn aside from his single purpose of tracing the history of the war

to glance even for a moment at the art, literature, or philosophy of Athens, may well be excused if he treats her politics with similar reticence except in so far as they bear directly upon his subject. But, it may be asked, why should not Pisander's speech at least have been fuller?<sup>1</sup> Prof. Jebb indeed suggests that Thucydides would perhaps have worked it up at greater length had he revised the book. Yet there is a dramatic fitness about it as it stands. Pisander's position was not one for persuasive oratory. All the arguments were in theory upon the other side. No Athenian would have been at a loss for a rhetorical defence of his beloved democracy. Pisander had one reason to allege for the Revolution, but it was a cogent one—self-preservation and necessity. He would have been foolish to meet his opponents in equal discussion; his weapon was the conviction which they could not repel *μη εἶναι ἄλλην σωτηρίαν*. And so Thucydides felt, as his readers must feel if they try to imagine an alternative treatment of the situation, that conciseness and brevity was here preferable because dramatically true.

From this point of view then it may be urged that the omission of speeches from the eighth book does not imply either a deliberate change of practice on the part of Thucydides or even, in itself, a want of final revision. The matter must always remain to some extent one for private judgment; but certainly the mere absence of speeches will not justify the conclusions which have sometimes been founded upon it.

The second characteristic attributed to book viii. which we proposed to consider is the alleged occurrence of words, phrases, or constructions rarely or never employed by Thucydides elsewhere. Here great confusion has been introduced by the fact that different critics have had different objects in view. We are chiefly concerned with those who quote words as "un-Thucydidean," with the implication either that they have been inserted by an editor, or at least that they would have been rejected by Thucydides on revision. The mere question of vocabulary is easy to deal with, and the results, though not very important, are somewhat interesting. The facts are very much the contrary of what is generally asserted. The number of words used in the eighth book and not elsewhere in Thucydides is between 140 and 150, or just about *half the number* which is found in each of books i. and ii., and fully a quarter less than in any other book except book v., which has 131<sup>2</sup>. No doubt

<sup>1</sup> The absence of military harangues in Bk. viii. is less remarkable, and due primarily to the slight importance of the military operations recorded.

<sup>2</sup> I should explain that I do not claim

absolute precision for these numbers, but having taken some pains to verify them I give the results as I arrived at them, and am confident that they are approximately correct.

the absence of speeches may to some extent account for the comparative rarity of such words in book viii., and the same in a less degree may apply to book v., for the Melian dialogue treats of very familiar topics and makes no great call upon the vocabulary. It is clear then that in the matter of vocabulary book viii. is in no way peculiar, but rather the reverse. If we proceed to classification of the words in question we shall find an almost remarkable uniformity. In each of the first seven books (except book v., where the number is slightly smaller) a proportion of the ἀπαξλεγόμενα varying from a quarter to a third of the whole consists of verbs compounded with one, two, or three prepositions, and unique only by virtue of such composition. This is indeed a fact familiar to all readers of Thucydides. Accordingly in book viii. we find 58 such words, *i.e.* rather, but not much, more than the usual proportion. Another characteristic of Thucydides' vocabulary is the frequent occurrence of unusual adverbs in -ως, some of them coined for a special occasion. There are between 40 and 50 such adverbs which he uses once and no more, equally distributed through the first seven books. In book viii. we have μόνως, διπλασίως, ἀντιπάλως, ὑποδεεστέρω, ἀνακῶς, which do not occur elsewhere in the history, and these among other words have been specially dwelt upon as "un-Thucydidean." Viewed however in relation to the other books we see that they, or some similar adverbs, might confidently have been anticipated in any genuine Thucydidean writing. A third important class of ἀπαξλεγόμενα in Thucydides consists of verbal substantives in -ις or -ία (*e.g.* μάθησις, νεωτεροποιία). The number of these is very large, about 30 occurring in book i. alone. Accordingly we find 12 such (*i.e.* approximately the same proportion) in book viii.

In short almost every word used in book viii. and not elsewhere in Thucydides has its analogue in the other books. Thus ἐβελοντηδὸν (viii. only) is paralleled by μετωπηδὸν (ii. only) and ὑπονομηδὸν (vi. only); γωνιώδης (viii.), though not occurring elsewhere itself, is only one of thirteen similar forms in -ωδης each used once, and once only, in Thucydides. And finally the very small residue of words in book viii. (*e.g.* πασσυδί, στίφος, ὑπουλος), which alone are really abnormal to the most ordinary Thucydidean usage, can easily be matched by words equally abnormal from the other books.

We may draw two conclusions therefore as to the vocabulary of book viii. First, that the book could not certainly be genuine without some such number of ἀπαξλεγόμενα as we actually find. Secondly, that if after study and classification of the ἀπαξλεγόμενα which occur in the first seven books we were set to work to draw up a provisional list for

a lost book viii., it would be impossible in any important particulars, having regard merely to probability, to improve upon the 143 which we actually find.

It is less easy to estimate the extent to which harshness or confusion of expression and irregularity of construction is to be found in this book as distinguished from the rest. All will admit that the book has not had final revision at its author's hands. But it is at least important to define for ourselves the class of result which is to be assigned to this cause. Where a passage is obscure by reason of evident corruption in the manuscripts it is absurd to assign the blame to the author's carelessness. Haste may cause redundancy or anacoluthon; it will often produce a want of perspicuity; but no competent author will even in his first draft write what is grossly ungrammatical or hopelessly unintelligible. Yet we find such instances as the obviously corrupt repetition of *παρέπλει* in c. 23, 4, or the still more impossible *ἀν ἡσυχάσειν* (after *ἡσυχάζειν*) in c. 71 brought forward as evidences of want of revision. Such examples would prove too much; they would prove that the book was not written either by Thucydides or by any other educated person. The real traces which want of revision has left are of a very different and much slighter kind. They consist rather in faults of style than in faults of grammar and sense. Such a case is the four-fold repetition of *σφῶν* in c. 89, 2; perhaps too the parenthetical remarks in c. 43, 1 and 96, 4 (*v. notes ad loc.*); certainly the abrupt *μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο* recurring so closely in cc. 103 and 104, with *μετὰ δὲ τὴν ναυμαχίαν* in 107. In fact these chapters have something of the character of jottings to be worked up afterwards. I should also include under this head such involved sentences as that in c. 48, 1, and possibly such anacoloutha as in c. 81 *init.* But these are not serious matters, and if we omit from our consideration all those places in which difficulty is due to corruption of the mss., I do not think that we shall regard the want of finish in book viii. as either very noticeable or very important. In fact the difference of book viii. in this respect from the earlier books seems to me to have been very much exaggerated in the past. Classen even holds that the unfinished state of books vii. and viii. was so fully recognised after Thucydides' death that, when in the Alexandrian or Roman age a recension of the History was made, these two last books were deliberately treated on different principles and with a freer hand, the object being to restore rather what Thucydides would have written than what he actually did write. It is thus that he accounts for the text of the Vatican ms. as we have it. An opinion on this point can only be formed by going carefully through the readings of

the Vatican, and comparing them with those of the other MSS. I may say that to myself it appears quite incredible.

Our conclusions then will be briefly these. Book viii. was certainly left unfinished and unrevised. It accordingly shows occasional roughness and inaccuracy of expression to a somewhat greater extent than the other books. At the same time there is not any such difference of style, and certainly not of vocabulary, as would justify us in applying a critical treatment to the text different from that which we should apply to the other books. It is moreover impossible to say with confidence that the absence of speeches would have been in any way modified on further revision.

#### ERRATA.

p. 18, l. 1. Παιδὸν τῆς Κοινῆς. Prof. Wyse has shown that the name of this place is Σπείραιον. It should be altered here and elsewhere. *v. Class. Rev.* Feb. 1893, p. 17.

p. 87, l. 6. For Ἐπεριτέων read Ἐπεριῶν.

---

N.B. In the critical notes AC &c. means ACEFGM. *v. Introd.* p. xxxiii.

## ΘΟΥΚΥΔΙΔΟΥ ΕΥΓΓΡΑΦΗΣ Η.

I. Ἐς δὲ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐπειδὴ ἡγγέλθη, ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν ἡπίστουν καὶ τοῖς πάνυ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἔργου διαπεφευγόσι καὶ σαφῶς ἀγγέλλουσι, μὴ οὕτω γε ἄγαν πανσυδὶ διεφθάρθαι.

2. καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ M.

3. ἂν for ἄγαν AC etc. πανσυδὶ πάν δ. B.

cc. 1—5. Dismay at Athens on hearing of the destruction of their armament in Sicily: Athenian energy and resolution: excitement and anticipation throughout Greece: preparations of Lacedaemonians and Athenians.

1. ἐς δὲ τὰς Ἀθήνας] In opening a fresh section of his subject, Thuc. constantly marks a change of scene by putting the name of the place to which he wishes to direct attention at the beginning of the sentence. cp. iv, 15, i. viii, 15, i.

2. τοῖς πάνυ τῶν στρατιωτῶν] οἱ πάνυ as an epithet occurs twice only in Thuc., here and c. 89, 2. Dio Cassius (*Frag.* 77 § 2) uses the same phrase in speaking of Scipio Africanus: τὸ σῶμα ἴσα τοῖς πάνυ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἔρρωτο. 'He was as strong as the veriest soldier amongst them'. The context there shows that a contrast is being drawn between the 'regular' soldier whose business is fighting, and the general from whom physical hardihood is not expected. The explanation τοῖς πάνυ [ἐρρωμένοις] τῶν στρατιωτῶν, misses the point. So here τοῖς πάνυ τ. στ. ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἔργου διαπεφευγόσι, means 'actual soldiers fresh

escaped from the fighting', not (as Arnold) 'the most respectable of the soldiers'. The contrast implied is between soldiers pure and simple and civilians, not between some soldiers and others. This view is supported by a passage in the Icaromenippus, attributed to Lucian, (c. 2) καὶ μὴν ἐγὼ σοι παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐκέλευν τοῦ πάνυ Διὸς ἦκω... (the 'very' Zeus); and Dio Cass. has τῶν πάνυ γυναικῶν (xiii, 24), very much as Plato (*Legg.* 639, B) has τινων σφόδρα γυναικῶν. The use of πάνυ with proper names (e.g. Xen. *Mem.* iii, 5, 1 τοῦ πάνυ Περικλέους) to distinguish a famous man from his less remarkable namesakes, may be explained in the same way. ὁ πάνυ Περικλῆς means 'the 'very' Pericles', i.e. 'the real one', not 'the famous one' (ὁ πάνυ περιβόητος, as L. and S.).

3. ἄγαν πανσυδὶ] v. crit. note. Poppo supports ἂν διεφθάρθαι by ii, 102, 6 ἐδόκει ἂν κεχῶσθαι, but there would have been no motive for altering ἂν here to ἄγαν. For ἄγαν with another adverb cp. i, 75, 1 μὴ οὕτως ἄγαν ἐπιφθόνως διακείσθαι. πασσυδὶ and πασσυδίᾳ are both used by Xen. with βοηθεῖν (*Hell.* iv, 4, 9. *Cyr.* i, 4, 18),

ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔγνωσαν, χαλεποὶ μὲν ἦσαν τοῖς ξυμπροθυμηθεῖσι τῶν  
 ῥητόρων τὸν ἐκπλοῦν, ὥσπερ οὐκ αὐτοὶ ψηφισάμενοι, ὠργίζοντο  
 δὲ καὶ τοῖς χρησμολόγοις τε καὶ μάντεσι καὶ ὁπόσοι τι τότε  
 αὐτοὺς θειάσαντες ἐπήλπισαν ὡς λήφονται Σικελίαν. πάντα δὲ 2  
 5 πανταχόθεν αὐτοὺς ἐλύπει τε καὶ περιειστίκει ἐπὶ τῷ γεγενημένῳ  
 φόβος τε καὶ κατὰπληξίς μεγίστη δῆ. ἅμα μὲν γὰρ στερόμενοι  
 καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστος καὶ ἡ πόλις ὀπλιτῶν τε πολλῶν καὶ ἱππέων καὶ  
 ἡλικίας οἷαν οὐχ ἑτέραν ἐώρων ὑπάρχουσιν ἐβαρύνοντο· ἅμα δὲ  
 ναὺς οὐχ ὀρώντες ἐν τοῖς νεωσοίκους ἱκανὰς οὐδὲ χρήματα ἐν τῷ  
 10 κοινῷ οὐδ' ὑπηρεσίας ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀνέλπιστοι ἦσαν ἐν τῷ παρόντι

4. ἔπεισαν for ἐπήλπισαν B.

but a phrase much more like the present one occurs in Eur. *Tro.* 792 μὴ οὐ πανσυδία χωρεῖν δλέθρου διὰ παντός. It would appear that the real sense of the latter part of the compound (συ-, σέν-ομαι, σύδην) was lost, and the word became a synonym for παντελῶς.

1. ἔγνωσαν] 'realized'. cp. iii, 113, 5 ὡς ἤκουσε καὶ ἔγνω..., and Eur. *Hipp.* 380.—χαλεποὶ ἦσαν: cp. Aristoph. *Wasps* 942 οὐκ αὖ σὺ παύσει χαλεπὸς ὢν καὶ δύσκολος, | καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς φεύγουσιν, ἀλλ' ὁδᾶξ ἔχει; also Thuc. vi, 60, 1.

2. ὥσπερ...ψηφισάμενοι] v. Goodwin *M. and T.* 867. This is not felt in Greek to be equivalent to ὥσπερ...εἰ ἐψηφίσαντο, as is shown by the negative οὐ (not μή). 'The construction is the same as when ὥσπερ takes a noun, as τὸν κίνδυνον παρελθεῖν ἐποίησεν ὥσπερ νέφος, it caused the danger to pass by like a cloud; only we can translate ὥσπερ νέφος, but we could not translate ὥσπερ νέφος ὄντα'. G.

3. χρησμολόγοις τε καὶ μάντεσι] μάν-ταις are the better accredited public seers, χρησμολόγοι private oracle-mongers. In iii, 20, Theaenetus 'ἀνὴρ μάντις' instigates the Plataeans to break through the blockading lines. For χρησμολόγος cp. Aristoph. *Birds* 959 ff. For the general fact cp. Thuc. ii, 8, 2.

4. ἐπήλπισαν] transitive; 'set them hoping'. In c. 54, 1, and Eurip. *Hipp.*

1011 ἐπελπίζειν is intransitive (=ἐλπίζω). As a transitive verb it is not found elsewhere in good Attic; but this force of ἐπὶ in composition appears again in ἐπαληθεύειν (trans.) iv, 85, 1. viii, 52, ἀληθεύειν like ἐλπίζω being intransitive. cp. also ἐπιψηφίζεσθαι.

5. πανταχόθεν...ἐλύπει τε καὶ περιειστίκει...φόβος] περιειστίκει φόβος is only another way of expressing πανταχόθεν ἐφόβει. The phrase πανταχόθεν περιιστασθαι occurs iv, 34, 3. vi, 61, 4. τε καὶ connect the whole clauses, not the verbs.

6. μεγίστη δῆ] cp. c. 41, 2, note, and (for the whole passage) c. 96, 1.

στερόμενοι] in perfect sense. cp. i, 70, 7. But στέρεσθαι is also regularly used as the *pres.* of ἐστερῆσθαι. στερεῖσθαι hardly occurs in Attic prose.—ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστος: sc. τῶν οἰκείων στερόμενος.

10. ὑπηρεσίας] The crews sent to Sicily had been the very best that Athens could furnish. cp. vi, 31, 3.—The sense of ἱκανὰς is to be extended to χρήματα and ὑπηρεσίας as well as ναὺς; cp. i, 86, 3 χρήματα...πολλὰ καὶ νῆες καὶ ἱπποί; ii, 64, 3 πλείστα σώματα καὶ πόνους. v. Darpe, *de verborum apud Thuc. collocatione*, p. 13.

ἐν τῷ παρόντι] 'under existing circumstances'. τὸ παρὸν is often not merely 'present time', but 'present circumstances';

σωθήσεσθαι, τοὺς τε ἀπὸ τῆς Σικελίας πολεμίους εὐθύς σφίσιν ἐνόμιζον τῷ ναυτικῷ ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ πλευσεῖσθαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ τοσοῦτον κρατήσαντας, καὶ τοὺς αὐτόθεν πολεμίους τότε δὴ καὶ διπλασίως πάντα παρεσκευασμένους κατὰ κράτος ἤδη καὶ ἐκ γῆς καὶ ἐκ θαλάσσης ἐπικείσεσθαι, καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους σφῶν 5 3 μετ' αὐτῶν ἀποστάντας. ὅμως δὲ ὡς ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐδόκει χρῆναι μὴ ἐνδιδόναι, ἀλλὰ παρασκευάζεσθαι καὶ ναυτικόν, ὅθεν ἂν δύνωνται ξύλα ξυμπορισμένους, καὶ χρήματα, καὶ τὰ τῶν

7. B omits ὅθεν.

cp. i, 25, 1 ἐν ἀπόρῳ εἶχοντο θέσθαι τὸ παρόν. — ἀνέλπιστοι... σωθήσεσθαι: cp. vi, 24, 3 εὐέλπιδες ὄντες σωθήσεσθαι.

1. εὐθύς σφίσιν... ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ πλευσεῖσθαι] εὐθύς ἐπὶ here means 'straight for'. cp. also iv, 118, 4 ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Ποσειδωνίου εὐθύς ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν τὴν ἐς Μιῶων. The regular use appears to be εὐθύ in a local, εὐθύς in a temporal sense, but it is only natural that there should be instances in which the two senses are interchanged or confused, as in the English word 'straightway'. σφίσιν is dat. of the persons concerned, anticipating in general terms ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ; 'they would sail straight against them to attack the Peiraeus'. This construction is distinct from that in c. 96, 3 εὐθὺ σφῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ πλεῖν. v. note *ad loc.*

6. ὡς ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων] 'as far as their actual condition allowed'; cp. vii, 76, and vii, 74 ὡς ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν.

7. παρασκευάζεσθαι καὶ ναυτικόν] Poppo (followed by Stahl) considers that this answers to καὶ τὰ τῶν ξυμμάχων ἐς ἀσφάλειαν ποιεῖσθαι, taking ὅθεν ἂν δύνωνται ξύλα ξυμπορισμένους καὶ χρήματα as a parenthesis. In that case the καὶ before ναυτικόν is misplaced. Classen proposes to remedy this by inserting στρατιὰν τε ὡς πλείστην after παρασκευάζεσθαι. But apart from the arbitrariness of this proceeding there is no mention of στρατιὰ in c. 4, where both in language and sense there is clear reminiscence of the present passage. The

punctuation of the text (καὶ χρήματα answering to καὶ ναυτικόν, and both being governed by παρασκευάζεσθαι), besides getting rid of the above difficulty, seems almost necessary to the sense. We cannot disconnect this sentence from the words immediately preceding (§ 2) ἅμα δὲ ναὺς οὐχ ὀρώντες ἐν τοῖς νεωσοῖκοις ἱκανὰς οὐδὲ χρήματα ἐν τῷ κοινῷ. Equal prominence is there given to ναὺς and χρήματα, and we might fairly expect the same here. It is noticeable that in c. 4, where the Athenians are expressly said to be carrying out the intentions here described, the phrase παρασκευάζοντο τὴν ναυπηγίαν ξύλα ξυμπορισάμενοι (without the addition of χρήματα as Cl. and Poppo would have it here) recurs. With regard to the phrase παρασκευάζεσθαι χρήματα which at first sight might seem strange, it must be remembered that παρασκευάζεσθαι here means not merely 'to procure', but 'to get ready', and it may therefore be applied to anything that will be needed for the purposes of the war. cp. ii, 10, 1. vi, 31, 5. For ναυτικόν without the article meaning 'a fleet' cp. ii, 81, 1.

ὅθεν ἂν δύνωνται] This should go with ξύλα ξυμπορισμένους. They did not get their ships 'whence they could', but built them having got the timber 'whence they could'. For the order of the words cp. vii, 20 ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ξυμμάχων... εἰ ποθέν τι εἶχον ἐπιτήδειον ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ξυμπορίσαντες.



ξυμμάχων ἐς ἀσφάλειαν ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ μάλιστα τὴν Εὐβοίαν, τῶν τε κατὰ τὴν πόλιν τι ἐς εὐτέλειαν σωφρονίσαι καὶ ἀρχὴν τινὰ πρεσβυτέρων ἀνδρῶν ἐλέσθαι, οἵτινες περὶ τῶν παρόντων ὥς ἂν καιρὸς ἢ προβουλευέσουσιν. πάντα τε πρὸς τὸ παραχρῆμα 4  
5 περιδεές, ὅπερ φιλεῖ δῆμος ποιεῖν, ἐτοίμοι ἦσαν εὐτακτεῖν. καὶ ὥς ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐποιοῦν ταῦτα. καὶ τὸ θέρος ἐτελεύτα.

II. Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος πρὸς τὴν ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας τῶν Ἀθηναίων μεγάλην κακοπραγίαν εὐθύς οἱ Ἕλληνες πάντες ἐπηρμένοι ἦσαν, οἱ μὲν μηδετέρων ὄντες ξύμμαχοι, ὥς, ἦν τις καὶ

6. B adds τοῦτο after ἐτελεύτα.

1. ἐς ἀσφάλειαν ποιεῖσθαι] καθίσταται would be more usual; cp. iv, 76, 5 καταστήσειν αὐτὰ (τὰ πράγματα) ἐς τὸ ἐπιτήδειον. But a similar phrase occurs in iii, 3, 4 ἀνδρας... ἐς φυλακὴν ἐποιήσαντο. cp. also c. 53, 3.

2. τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν τι] τι=aliquantum. cp. i, 5, 1. iv, 130, 1 (where C alone has τι). For σωφρονίσαι cp. c. 53, 3 εἰ μὴ πολιτεύσομεν σωφρονέστερον. Other similar phrases are ξυστελλόμενοι ἐς εὐτέλειαν, c. 4, and εἰ ἐς εὐτέλειαν τι ξυντέμνηται, c. 86, 6. Economy is throughout these transactions held up as one of the chief virtues of oligarchic σωφροσύνη.

ἀρχὴν τινὰ πρεσβυτέρων ἀνδρῶν] v. Grote vol. vii, p. 498 (Pt. ii, c. lxi). The members of this Board were called πρόβουλοι, and their appointment was an anti-democratic measure, probably in answer to the demands of the Moderate Party. cp. Aristot. *Pol.* vi (iv), 15, 11 ff. They were ultimately merged in the thirty ξυγγραφείς who were elected by the ecclesia to draw up a new constitution. v. note on c. 67, 1; and cp. Aristot. *Ἀθ. πολ.* c. 29. It appears from Arist. *Rhet.* iii, 18, 6 that they all favoured the establishment of the oligarchy. A member of this ἀρχή is introduced in Aristoph. *Lys.* 387 ff.

5. ὅπερ φιλεῖ δῆμος ποιεῖν] this comment refers to the whole sentence but is inserted directly after the words which define the particular characteristic commented

upon. 'In the panic of the moment,—that is the way with a democracy—they were ready to maintain the strictest discipline'. For a more remarkable instance of this cp. ii, 65, 4 ὅσπερ δ' αἶψα οὐ πολλῶ, ὅπερ φιλεῖ δῆμος ποιεῖν, στρατηγὸν ἐίλοντο κ.τ.λ. 'Turning round in a moment, just as a mob will, they elected him general &c.'

6. ὥς ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐποιοῦν] the same expression is used in ii, 93, 4. iv, 8, 9. ὥς apparently=ὡσπερ; cp. the similar phrases παρεσκευάζοντο... ὡσπερ διανοήθησαν (c. 4), and ὡσπερ ὄρητο... ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Σίον (c. 23, 1).

7. πρὸς τὴν ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας... κακοπραγίαν] ἐπαίρεσθαι πρὸς... occurs also in vi, 11, 6. For τὴν ἐκ τῆς Σικ. κακοπραγίαν ('which had come upon them from Sicily') cp. vi, 89, 2 τὴν ἐκ Πύλου ξυμφορὰν.

9. μηδετέρων] The negative is μὴ (not οὐ) because the intention is not to designate any particular state, but to mark off an indefinite class outside the limits of οἱ τῶν ἐτέρων ὄντες ξύμμαχοι. cp. also v, 98.

ἦν τις καὶ μὴ] this is the regular order in Thuc. in parentheses where ἦν or εἰ is followed by τις with an emphatic καί; cp. iii, 46, 2 ἦν τις καὶ ἀποστάσα πόλις... i, 70, 7 ἦν ἄρα του καὶ πείρα σφαλῶσιν... (where some MSS. have καὶ του).—ὥς οὐκ ἀποστατέον εἰη: this is governed by the notion 'thinking that &c.' included in ἐπηρμένοι.

μη παρακαλῇ σφᾶς, οὐκ ἀποστατέον ἔτι τοῦ πολέμου εἴη, ἀλλ' ἐθῆλοντι ἰτέον ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, νομίσαντες κἂν ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἕκαστοι ἐλθεῖν ἂν αὐτούς, εἰ τὰ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ κατῴρθωσαν, καὶ ἅμα βραχὺν ἔσεσθαι τὸν λοιπὸν πόλεμον, οὐ μετασχεῖν καλὸν εἶναι, οἱ δ' αὖ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ξύμμαχοι ξυμπροθυμηθέντες 5 ἐπὶ πλέον ἢ πρὶν ἀπαλλάξεσθαι διὰ τάχους πολλῆς ταλαιπωρίας.

2 μάλιστα δὲ οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑπήκοοι ἐτοῖμοι ἦσαν καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν αὐτῶν ἀφίστασθαι διὰ τὸ ὀργῶντες κρίνειν τὰ πράγματα καὶ μὴδ' ὑπολείπειν λόγον αὐτοῖς ὥς τό γ' ἐπὶ θέρους οἰοί 10 3 τ' ἔσονται περιγενέσθαι. ἡ δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πόλις πᾶσί τε τούτοις ἐθάρσει καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι οἱ ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας αὐτοῖς ξύμμαχοι πολλῇ δυνάμει, κατ' ἀνάγκην ἤδη τοῦ ναυτικοῦ προσγε- 4 γνημένου, ἅμα τῷ ἥρι ὥς εἰκὸς παρέσεσθαι ἐμελλον. πανταχόθεν τε εὐέλπιδες ὄντες ἀπροφασίστως ἄπτεσθαι διενοοῦντο τοῦ πολέμου, λογιζόμενοι καλῶς τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ κινδύνων τε τοιούτων 15 ἀπῆλλάχθαι ἂν τὸ λοιπὸν οἶος καὶ ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων περιέσθῃ

2. νομί<sup>ισα</sup>ζοντες B. 3. AC etc. omit αὖ. v. note. 4. AC etc. add ἡγούμενοι after ἅμα. 9. αὐτοὶ οἱ 3' ἔσονται B. 13. πανταχοθεν δ' B. 15. διαλογιζόμενοι B.

3. **ἐλθεῖν ἂν αὐτούς**] B alone supplies this second αὖ. It might easily have fallen out before αὐτούς. There is a very similar instance of repetition in i, 76, 4 ἄλλους γ' ἂν οἴομεθα τὰ ἡμέτερα λαβόντας δεῖξαι ἂν μάλιστα...v. Goodwin *M. and T.* 223.

6. **ἐπὶ πλέον ἢ πρὶν**] cp. vii, 48, 2 ἀφ' ὧν ἐπὶ πλέον ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι ἡσθάνετο αὐτῶν. Madvig alters to ἔτι, unnecessarily.—**ἀπαλλάξεσθαι**: the fut. is used instead of the aor. or pres. (which are usual after *προθυμείσθαι*) because a hope or expectation is more particularly implied. v. Goodwin *M. and T.* 136; cp. vi, 6, 1.

7. **παρὰ δύναμιν**] cp. i, 70, 3.—**αὐτῶν** (i.e. τῶν Ἀθηναίων) is governed by *ἀφίστασθαι*.

9. **μὴδ' ὑπολείπειν λόγον αὐτοῖς**] cp. Antiph. iii, 4 οὐδεὶς ἡμῶν λόγος ὑπελείπετο μὴ φανεὶς εἶναι. The meaning here is, 'They did not consider that they had a single argument to advance in proof that

&c.' cp. c. 24, 5 τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἡσθάνοντο οὐδ' αὐτοὺς ἀντιλέγοντας...ὥς οὐ πάνυ πονηρὰ σφῶν βεβαίως τὰ πράγματα εἴη.

12. **κατ' ἀνάγκην ἤδη τοῦ ναυτικοῦ προσγεγεννημένου**] Not being a naval power before the Athenian expedition, Syracuse was not likely to interfere in Greek quarrels. Now however Athenian aggression had compelled her to provide herself with a fleet, and she would be glad to use it against Athens.

14. **ἀπροφασίστως**] this may mean either 'without offering excuse', i.e. 'readily', or 'without pretence', i.e. 'genuinely' (cp. vi, 33, 2 *πρόφασιν μὲν...τὸ δ' ἀληθές... ibid.* 76, 2). The latter gives the best meaning here: 'in very deed to set their hand to the war'. cp. c. 92, 4 *ἐργῳ ἤδη ἥπτοντο τῶν πραγμάτων*.

16. **ἀπῆλλάχθαι ἂν**] Class. points out that this perf. is equivalent to a present 'to be free from', and therefore with αὖ it has a future force.

αὐτοὺς, εἰ τὸ Σικελικὸν προσέλαβον, καὶ καθελόντες ἐκείνους αὐτοὶ τῆς πάσης Ἑλλάδος ἤδη ἀσφαλῶς ἡγήσεσθαι.

III. Εὐθύς οὖν Ἄγις μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι τούτῳ ὀρηγθεὶς στρατῷ τινι ἐκ Δεκελείας τὰ τε τῶν ξυμμάχων 5 ἡργυρολόγησεν ἐς τὸ ναυτικόν, καὶ τραπόμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ Μηλιῶς κόλπου Οἰταίων τε κατὰ τὴν παλαιὰν ἔχθραν τῆς λείας τὴν πολλὴν ἀπολαβὼν χρήματα ἐπράξατο, καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς τοὺς Φθιώτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ταύτῃ Θεσσαλῶν ὑπηκόους, μεμφομένων 10 καὶ ἀκόντων τῶν Θεσσαλῶν, ὁμήρους τέ τινας ἠνάγκασε δοῦναι καὶ χρήματα, καὶ κατέθετο τοὺς ὁμήρους ἐς Κόρινθον, ἐς τε τὴν ξυμμαχίαν ἐπειράτο προσάγειν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ τὴν πρόσταξιν 2

8. μεμφομένους B. AC etc.. omit τῶν after ἀκόντων.

1. εἰ τὸ Σικελικὸν προσέλαβον] not 'if they had conquered Sicily', but 'if they had added the resources of Sicily to their own'; cp. iii, 13, 7 πόλιν προσλήψεσθε ναυτικὸν ἐχουσιν. cp. also i, 36, 1. 82, 1.

4. ἐκ Δεκελείας] The occupation of Deceleia in the spring of 413 marked the active recommencement of hostilities between Sparta and Athens. It was 14 miles N.E. from Athens and about the same distance from the Boeotian frontier, and commanded the land route to Euboea (vii, 19, 2. 28, 1). When Oropus was lost to Athens early in 411 (c. 60, 1) it no doubt became the port for the Lac. garrison at Deceleia.

τὰ τῶν ξυμμάχων ἡργυρολόγησεν] acc. of remoter object. cp. ii, 69, 1. iii, 19, 2. In each case the acc. is a neuter plural, not a person.

6. τὴν παλαιὰν ἔχθραν] cp. iii, 92. v, 51. The Trachinians being harassed by the Oetaeans appealed to Sparta for aid. The Spartans colonized Heraclea to protect them, but the colony fell owing to the hostility of the Thessalians and the bad conduct of the Spartan governors.

τῆς λείας τὴν πολλὴν ἀπολαβὼν] 'intercepting the greater part of their pillageable property' i.e. of the cattle &c.

which they would have put in a place of security if they had had time. cp. Xen. *Hell.* i, 3, 2 προσιώντας αἰσθόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὴν λείαν ἀπασαν κατέθετο εἰς τοὺς Βιθυνοὺς... There is an exactly similar use of ἀπολαμβάνειν in vi, 49, 3 εἰκὸς δὲ εἶναι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς πολλοὺς ἀποληφθῆναι ἔξω. For τῆς λείας τὴν πολλὴν (λείαν) cp. ii, 56, 4 ἔτεμον τῆς γῆς τὴν πολλήν. There are two other varieties of this phrase, (a) where πολὺς agrees in case, as well as gender, with its substantive, e.g. ii, 48, 1 κατέβη καὶ ἐς τὴν βασιλείας γῆν τὴν πολλήν; (b) where it does not agree either in gender or case, e.g. iv, 92, 4 τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος τὸ πολὺ. Classen finds difficulty in τὴν λείαν, but hardly mends matters by understanding it to mean booty taken from Heraclea, comparing v, 51.

7. Ἀχαιοὺς τοὺς Φθιώτας] Achaia Phthiotis was the southern district of Thessaly, so called to distinguish it from Achaia in the Peloponnese. The 'other Thessalian subjects' are the Oenianes, the Dolopes, and the Melians, who joined in the attack on Heraclea (v, 51).

11. προσάγειν] elsewhere in Thuc. always in the middle in this sense. cp. iii, 55, 3.

τὴν πρόσταξιν ἐποιούοντο...τῆς ναυπηγίας] i.e. προσέταξαν ναυπηγεῖν. For

ταῖς πόλεσιν ἑκατὸν νεῶν τῆς ναυπηγίας ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ ἑαυτοῖς μὲν καὶ Βοιωτοῖς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν ἑκατέροις ἔταξαν, Φωκεῦσι δὲ καὶ Λοκροῖς πεντεκαίδεκα, καὶ Κορινθίοις πεντεκαίδεκα, Ἀρκάσι δὲ καὶ Πελληνεῦσι καὶ Σικυνωίοις δέκα, Μεγαρεῦσι δὲ καὶ Τροιζηνίοις καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίοις καὶ Ἑρμιονεῦσι δέκα· τὰ τε ἄλλα 5 παρσκευάζοντο ὡς εὐθὺς πρὸς τὸ ἔαρ ἐξόμενοι τοῦ πολέμου.

IV. Παρσκευάζοντο δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι ὥσπερ διανοήθησαν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χειμῶνι τούτῳ τὴν τε ναυπηγίαν, ξύλα ξυμπορισάμενοι, καὶ Σούνιον τειχίσαντες, ὅπως αὐτοῖς ἀσφάλεια ταῖς σιταγωγαῖς ναυσὶν εἴη τοῦ περίπλου, καὶ τό τε ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ τείχισμα 10 ἐκλιπόντες ὃ ἐνφοκοδόμησαν παραπλέοντες ἐς Σικελίαν, καὶ τὰλλα, εἴ πού τι ἐδόκει ἀχρεῖον ἀναλίσκεσθαι, ξυστελλόμενοι ἐς εὐτέλειαν,

8. AC etc. omit αὐτῷ.

12. εἴ τι που B.

the article cp. iii, 33, 3 ἐποίετο τὴν δίωξιν. The order ἑκατὸν νεῶν τῆς ναυπηγίας is common in Thuc. not only with genitives but with a substantive in any case depending upon another; cp. i, 5, 1 ἔνεκα ... τοῖς ἀσθενέσι τροφῆς. i, 32, 2 μετὰ τῆς ξυμμαχίας τῆς αἰτήσεως.

7. παρσκευάζοντο δι] the construction is παρσκευάζοντο τε τὴν ναυπηγίαν καὶ (παρσκευάζοντο) Σούνιον τειχίσαντες κ.τ.λ. ὅπως is final. Stahl makes ὅπως αὐτοῖς κ.τ.λ. an object clause after παρσκευάζοντο answering to τὴν τε ναυπηγίαν, in which case Σούνιον τειχίσαντες must be parenthetical. But (1) if ὅπως ... περίπλου were an object clause we should probably have had the fut. indic. as in ii, 99, 1. viii, 10, 1; v. Goodwin *M. and T.* 313, (2) ἐκλιπόντες, ξυστελλόμενοι, διασκοποῦντες, form part of the action of παρσκευάζοντο, and if Σούνιον τειχίσαντες does not, we have after one verb the three different constructions τὴν ναυπηγίαν... ὅπως ἀσφάλεια εἴη... καὶ ἐκλιπόντες. For the use of the *aorist* part. denoting that in which the action of a verb of past time consists v. Goodwin 150. cp. c. 50, 2 πέμπει κρύφα ἐπιστελλας. The misplacement of τε could hardly be avoided if παρσκευάζοντο was to be put first for emphasis (as it is also in ii, 7, 1). Similar instances are

very numerous; cp. i, 53, 2. iii, 40, 8. 70, 3. v, 28, 2. 32, 1.

9. ὅπως αὐτοῖς... περίπλου] τοῦ περίπλου depends directly upon ἀσφάλεια; cp. iv, 68, 5 ἀσφάλεια αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον ἐγγίγντο τῆς ἀνοξέως. In the present passage ταῖς σιταγωγαῖς ναυσὶν answers to αὐτοῖς in the passage quoted, while αὐτοῖς is here thrown in like σφίσιν in c. 1, 2 (σφίσιν ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ πλευσείσθαι), to indicate by anticipation the persons concerned. For the importance of Sunium cp. vii, 28, 1.

10. τὸ ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ τείχισμα] A fort established (vii, 26) on an isthmus of the mainland opposite Cythera. Not to be confused with Pylos, which they held till 409.

12. ἐδόκει] For the use of the ind. instead of the opt. or subj. in general conditions, v. Goodwin *M. and T.* 467. Thuc. does not follow any definite principle in this matter, and apparently either construction might be used in any given case, the difference consisting in the point of view of the writer, not in any real distinction of sense. Other instances of the indicative are i, 99, 1. iii, 34. 4. 35, 1. vii, 10. viii, 5, 3.

ξυστελλόμενοι ἐς εὐτέλειαν] cp. c. 1, 3. ξυστέλλειν is not used elsewhere by Thuc., but occurs with the same construction in Demosth. and Plato.

μάλιστα δὲ τὰ τῶν ξυμμάχων διασκοποῦντες ὅπως μὴ σφῶν ἀποστήσονται.

V. Πρασσόντων δὲ ταῦτα ἀμφοτέρων καὶ ὄντων οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ὥσπερ ἀρχομένων ἐν κατασκευῇ τοῦ πολέμου, πρῶτοι Εὐβοῆς 5 ὡς Ἀγιν περὶ ἀποστάσεως τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπρεσβεύσαντο ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι τούτῳ. ὁ δὲ προσδεξάμενος τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν μεταπέμπεται ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος Ἀλκαμένη τὸν Σθενελάδου καὶ Μέλανθον ἄρχοντας ὡς ἐς τὴν Εὐβοίαν· οἱ δ' ἦλθον ἔχοντες τῶν νεοδαμωδῶν ὡς τριακοσίους, καὶ παρεσκεύαζεν αὐτοῖς τὴν 10 διάβασιν. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Λέσβιοι ἦλθον, βουλόμενοι καὶ αὐτοὶ 2 ἀποστήναι· καὶ ξυμπρασσόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν Βοιωτῶν ἀναπείθεται

5. Valla omits τῶν Ἀθηναίων; perhaps rightly.

cc. 5—9. First the Euboeans, then the Lesbians supported by the Boeotians, apply to Agis at Deceleia for assistance. Agis plans an expedition to Euboea, but presently abandons it, and determines to help the Lesbians. Meanwhile Tissaphernes applies to the government at Sparta in support of the Chians and Erythraeans who propose to revolt, while Pharnabazus invites a Lacedaemonian fleet to the Hellespont. The Spartans decide to help Tissaphernes and the Chians. Agis acquiesces: the ships are to be collected at Corinth and dragged over the Isthmus.

3. ὄντων οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ὥσπερ ἀρχομένων κ.τ.λ.] οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ occurs (with slight variations of sense) in ii, 16, 2. iv, 14, 3. 120, 3. vii, 75, 5. The last passage is perhaps the best parallel. ὄντων ἐν κατασκευῇ must go together; cp. ii, 80, 3. viii, 14, 4. There is at first a temptation to regard ὄντων οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ὥσπερ ἀρχομένων as exactly analogous to iv, 120, 3 ὄντες οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ νησιῶται, but a comparison of the other passages referred to shows that if ὄντων does not belong to ἐν κατασκευῇ it is redundant, and we should have simply οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ὥσπερ ἀρχομένων; and moreover there is no justification for the construction ἀρχεσθαι ἐν κατασκευῇ. The sense therefore is 'busily equipping themselves for war,

exactly as if they were just commencing it'. The point to which Thucydides wishes to draw attention is not merely the vigour of their preparations (cp. ii, 8, 1 ἀρχόμενοι γὰρ πάντες ὀξύτερον ἀντιλαμβάνονται), but more particularly the fact that we have now come to a *new beginning* of the war, the resumption of the serious struggle which had been to some extent in abeyance from 421 to 413. κατασκευῇ, though less common than παρασκευῇ (the reading of a few inferior MSS.), is appropriate here. κατασκευάζειν = *instruere*, 'to provide material for'. Dio Cass. has κατασκευῇ τοῦ πολέμου (xliii, 51). cp. also the use of κατασκευάζειν ii, 85, 1.

8. ἀρχοντας ὡς ἐς τὴν Εὐβοίαν] cp. c. 64, 2 ὁρμύμενον ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης ἄρχειν. ὡς implies that this was his object in asking for them.

9. τῶν νεοδαμωδῶν] The classes in the Spartan state were (1) Spartans, (2) Perioeci, i.e. citizens of the 100 Laconian townships, (3) Helots. A manumitted Helot would not become a Perioecus unless he got a special grant of the freedom of one of the Laconian townships. Such persons therefore constituted a fourth class called Neodamodes.

11. ξυμπρασσόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν Βοιωτῶν] The Greek settlements in Lesbos were some of the earliest Aeolic colonies

Ἄγεις ὥστε Εὐβοίας μὲν περί ἐπισχεῖν, τοῖς δὲ Λεσβίοις παρε-  
 σκεύαζε τὴν ἀπόστασιν, Ἀλκαμένη τε ἄρμοστὴν διδούς, ὃς ἐς  
 Εὐβοίαν πλεῖν ἔμελλε, καὶ δέκα μὲν Βοιωτοὶ ναῦς ὑπέσχοντο,  
 3 δέκα δὲ Ἄγεις. καὶ ταῦτα ἄνευ τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων πόλεως  
 ἐπράσσετο· ὁ γὰρ Ἄγεις ὅσον χρόνον ἦν περὶ Δεκέλειαν ἔχων 5  
 τὴν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν, κύριος ἦν καὶ ἀποστέλλειν εἰ ποῖ τινα  
 ἐβούλετο στρατιὰν καὶ ξυναγείρειν, καὶ χρήματα πρᾶσσειν. καὶ  
 πολὺ μᾶλλον, ὥς εἰπεῖν, κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν αὐτοῦ οἱ ξύμμαχοι  
 ὑπήκουον ἢ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει Λακεδαιμονίων· δύναμιν γὰρ ἔχων αὐτὸς  
 εὐθὺς ἐκασταχόσε δεινὸς παρῆν· καὶ ὁ μὲν τοῖς Λεσβίοις ἔπρασσε. 10  
 4 Χίοι δὲ καὶ Ἐρυθραῖοι, ἀποστῆναι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐτοῖμοι ὄντες, πρὸς  
 μὲν Ἄγιν οὐκ ἐτράποντο, ἐς δὲ τὴν Λακεδαίμονα. καὶ παρὰ  
 Τισσαφέρνους, ὃς βασιλεῖ Δαρεΐῳ τῷ Ἀρταξέρξου στρατηγὸς ἦν

9. B omits αὐτὸς. AC etc. omit εὐθὺς. Hude proposes αὐτὸς εὐθὺς. v. note.

in Asia, and a large proportion of the original settlers are said to have been actual Boeotians. Hence this support κατὰ τὸ ξυγγεγές. cp. c. 100, 3.

1. ἐπισχεῖν] 'to hold back for a-while', not necessarily giving it up. cp. v, 32, 6.

2. ἄρμοστῇ] These harmosts, Lacedaemonian governors of dependencies, are not mentioned elsewhere in Thuc. They became more numerous and important after the establishment of the Lac. supremacy. For an account of their corruption and bad conduct then v. Grote, vol. ix, p. 277. (Pt. ii, c. lxxii.)

4. ἄνευ] 'independently of'. The meaning is very elastic. Here and in i, 128, 3, it is 'unauthorized by'; in iv, 25, 12, 'without interference from'; in vi, 88, 1, 'without help from'.

6. κύριος ἦν] But in v, 63, 4 a council of ten is appointed (418, B.C.) to control Agis for the future whenever he commands an army abroad. Either this had fallen into abeyance, or service at Decleia was made an exception.—ξυναγείρειν: sc. στρατιάν; cp. iv, 75, 1.

9. αὐτὸς εὐθὺς] αὐτὸς (v. crit. note) is well supported, and εὐθὺς would hardly have found its way into the text if not

genuine. δύναμιν ἔχων αὐτὸς goes together; cp. κύριος ἦν αὐτὸς c. 51, 1. εὐθὺς παρῆν = 'was present on the spot', i.e. he could make his presence immediately felt. In Lat. *praesens* has a somewhat similar sense. cp. also vi, 96, 1 χωρίου ἀποκρήμνου τε καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως εὐθὺς κειμένου.

10. τοῖς Λεσβίοις ἔπρασσε] 'was negotiating with the Lesbians'; cp. iv, 76, 2. 106, 2. v, 76, 3.

11. καὶ αὐτοὶ] Here and in the first line of § 2 the words καὶ αὐτοὶ refer back to πρῶτοι Εὐβοῆς (§ 1), and remind the reader that these are three successive applications for assistance.

13. στρατηγὸς τῶν κάτω] Herodotus (iii, 90) says that Darius the son of Hystaspes divided lower Asia into three satrapies, (1) the Hellespontine cities, Phrygia, Bithynia, Paphlagonia and Capadocia, (2) the W. and S.W. coast lands of Asia, i.e. Aeolis, Ionia, Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia, (3) Mysia and Lydia. In later times the two latter were generally under one governor who lived at Sardis. All, or sometimes the last two, of these districts are spoken of as τὰ κάτω 'the coast lands' (cp. Xen. *Hell.* i, 4, 1. Herod. v, 26), and it appears that the King from

τῶν κάτω, πρεσβευτῆς ἅμα μετ' αὐτῶν παρῆν. ἐπήγετο γὰρ καὶ 5  
 ὁ Τισσαφέρνης τοὺς Πελοποννησίους καὶ ὑπισχνεῖτο τροφήν πα-  
 ρέξειν. ὑπὸ βασιλέως γὰρ νεωστὶ ἐτύγχανε πεπραγμένοις τοὺς ἐκ  
 τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀρχῆς φόρους, οὓς δι' Ἀθηναίους ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων  
 5 πόλεων οὐ δυνάμενος πρᾶσσεσθαι ἐπωφείλησε· τοὺς τε οὖν φόρους  
 μᾶλλον ἐνόμιζε κομεῖσθαι κακῶσας τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, καὶ ἅμα  
 βασιλεῖ ξυμμάχους Λακεδαιμονίους ποιήσειν, καὶ Ἀμόργην τὸν  
 Πισσοῦθνον υἱὸν νόθον, ἀφεστῶτα περὶ Καρίαν, ὥσπερ αὐτῷ  
 προσέταξε βασιλεὺς, ἡ ζῶντα ἄξειν ἢ ἀποκτενεῖν. οἱ μὲν οὖν  
 10 Χίοι καὶ Τισσαφέρνης κοινῇ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπρασσον.

2. ἱκανὴν τροφήν B. 6. AEFM omit μᾶλλον. 8. ἀφεστῶτα τὰ περὶ B.  
 9. ἀποκτεῖναι B. ἀποκτείνω AC etc. v. note.

time to time appointed στρατηγοί for part or the whole of them, with a purely military commission which did not interfere with the governor at Sardis. cp. Herod. v, 25—6, where Otanes is appointed στρατηγὸς τῶν παραθαλασσίων ἀνδρῶν, as successor to Megabazus, whose proceedings in discharge of the same office are narrated in the earlier chapters of the same book. Generally however the civil and military government would both (as here) be vested in the same person, and the στρατηγός would also be satrap.

3. ἐτύγχανε πεπραγμένοις] πεπραγ-  
 μένος is here used as the *passive* of πρᾶσ-  
 σεσθαι 'to exact' (cp. Plato, *Legg.* 921, C), but in this sense πέπραγμαi and ἐπεπράγμαην more commonly have an *active* force, cp. Dem. πρὸς Ἀφοβον, § 4 (p. 845 *init.*). The money had been 'demanded' only, not paid.

4. φόρους] After the Ionic revolt (493 B.C.) the Greek cities in Asia Minor were all assessed by the satrap Artaphernes, and this assessment remained down to the time of Herodotus (Herod. vi, 42). But from the establishment of the Athenian empire to the present time little if any of this tribute can actually have been paid. So the satrap of the day always had arrears accumulating

against him (ἐπωφείλησε) in the imperial accounts. v. Grote vol. v, p. 454 (Pt. ii, c. xlv), and note.

7. τὸν Πισσοῦθνον υἱὸν νόθον] Pis-  
 southnes was satrap at Sardis in 440 B.C. (Thuc. i, 115), and we hear of him still in the same capacity in 428 B.C. (Thuc. iii, 31). Soon afterwards he revolted from the Persian King. Tissaphernes was sent to suppress the revolt, and having succeeded in doing so became satrap. Amorges however held out at Iasus till 412 (cp. viii, 28). The position of the adj. seems to show that υἱὸς νόθος is here regarded as one word. In the interpolation (v. crit. note) in c. 28, 3 we have the more natural order τὸν Ἀμόργην...Πισσ. νόθον υἱόν.

9. ἀποκτενεῖν] Here, and in iii, 46, 2. iv, 28, 5. vi, 24, 1, the MSS. are in favour of coupling together an aorist and a future infin. after a verb of 'thinking'. For a full discussion of this whole question v. Madvig *Advers.* i, 4. It is there demonstrated that upon any reasonable principles of criticism the aorist in such passages must be corrected to a future.

10. κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπρασσον] cp. c. 87, 2 λέγεται οὐ κατὰ ταυτό. But the phrase is best illustrated by its opposite, πρᾶσσόντων χωρὶς (§ 2).

VI. Καλλίγειτος δὲ ὁ Λαοφῶντος, Μεγαρέως, καὶ Τιμαγόρας ὁ Ἀθηναγόρου, Κυζικηνός, φυγάδες τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀμφότεροι παρὰ Φαρναβάζω τῷ Φαρνάκου κατοικοῦντες, ἀφικνούνται περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, πέμψαντος Φαρναβάζου, ὅπως ναὺς κομίσειαν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, καὶ αὐτός, εἰ δύναιτο, ἕπερ 5 ὁ Τισσαφέρνης προθυμεῖτο, τὰς τε ἐν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἀρχῇ πόλεις ἀποστήσειε τῶν Ἀθηναίων διὰ τοὺς φόρους, καὶ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ 2 βασιλεῖ τὴν ξυμμαχίαν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ποιήσειε. πρᾶσσόντων δὲ ταῦτα χωρὶς ἑκατέρων, τῶν τε ἀπὸ τοῦ Φαρναβάζου καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Τισσαφέρνου, πολλὴ ἄμιλλα ἐγένετο τῶν ἐν 10 τῇ Λακεδαίμονι, ὅπως οἱ μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίαν καὶ Χίον, οἱ δ' ἐς τὸν 3 Ἑλλήσποντον πρότερον ναὺς καὶ στρατιὰν πείσουσι πέμπειν· οἱ μέντοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰ τῶν Χίων καὶ Τισσαφέρνου παρὰ πολὺ προσέδεξαντο μᾶλλον. ξυνέπρασσε γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης, Ἐνδίων ἐφορεύοντι πατρικὸς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ξένος ὢν, [ᾧθεν καὶ 15

12. πείσωσι BG corr.

15. καὶ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα B.

7. ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ] 'by his own efforts'; ἀπό often gives the 'means' depended upon to achieve a result; cp. vii, 29, 1 τοὺς πολεμίους...ἀπ' αὐτῶν βλάψαι. But in v, 60, 1 ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν has a different sense, viz. 'of their own accord'.

10. τῶν ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι] These words cannot be synonymous with τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, as is shown by οἱ μέντοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι which follows. The key to their meaning is to be found, I think, in the contrast between the negotiations with Agis at Deceleia, and those with the home government at Lacedaemon. cp. c. 5, 3—4 καὶ ὁ μὲν (Ἀγίς) τοῖς Λεσβίοις ἐπράσσε. Χίοι δὲ καὶ Ἑρυθραῖοι ...πρὸς μὲν Ἀγιν οὐκ ἐτράποντο, ἐς δὲ τὴν Λακεδαίμονα. Afterwards in c. 8, 2 we return to Agis and see how his plans are affected by the resolution of the Spartans at home to assist Chios first. οἱ ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι is therefore a general phrase for the envoys present at Lacedaemon (cp. iv, 83, 4 οἱ παρὰ τοῦ Περδίκκου ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι), and there is a lightly implied contrast between the ἄμιλλα τῶν ἐν τῇ Λακ. and the plans actually formed by Agis. For this we have already

been prepared by the comment (c. 5, 3) καὶ ταῦτα ἄνευ τῆς Λακ. πόλεως ἐπράσσετο. If this view be right Stahl's proposal to strike out τῶν ἐν τῇ Λακ., and Haase's conjecture of αὐτῶν for τῶν (accepted by Classen), rather spoil than improve the sense.—For ἄμιλλα ἐγένετο ...ὅπως cp. Herod. viii, 10 ἄμιλλαν ἐποιεῖντο ὅκως...ἐκαστος δῶρα λάμψηται.

13. παρὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον] cp. ii, 8, 4, 'more by far'. παρὰ gives the amount of excess, or (as in c. 33, 3) of deficiency.

15. πατρικὸς] 'hereditary'; cp. πατρικὰς ἀρετὰς, vii, 69, 2. The ξενία had apparently originated in the time of Alcibiades' great grandfather, who had accordingly called his son Alcibiades. This son however, the first Alcibiades, had broken off the connexion, and the present Alcibiades, his grandson, took occasion to renew it by paying attention to the Spartans captured in Sphacteria. cp. v, 44, 2.

ᾧθεν...ἐκαλεῖτο] Alcibiades was originally a Spartan name, and was borne by the alternate generations in Endius' family. Cleinias, Alcibiades' great grandfather, determined that in his family also



τοῦνομα Λακωνικὸν ἢ οἰκία αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν ξενίαν ἔσχεν· Ἐνδῖος γὰρ Ἀλκιβιάδου ἐκαλεῖτο.] ὅμως δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρῶτον <sup>4</sup> κατὰσκοπον ἐς τὴν Χίον πέμψαντες Φρύνιν, ἄνδρα περιόικον, εἰ αἶ τε νῆες αὐτοῖς εἰσὶν ὅσασπερ ἔλεγον καὶ τᾶλλα ἢ πόλις ἱκανή <sup>5</sup> ἐστὶ πρὸς τὴν λεγομένην δόξαν, ἀπαγγείλαντος αὐτοῖς ὡς εἴη ταῦτα ἀληθῆ ἅπερ ἤκουον, τοὺς τε Χίους καὶ τοὺς Ἐρυθραίους εὐθὺς ξυμμάχους ἐποίησαντο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ναῦς ἐψηφίσαντο αὐτοῖς πέμπειν, ὡς ἐκεῖ οὐκ ἔλασσον ἢ ἐξήκοντα ἀφ' ὧν οἱ Χῖοι ἔλεγον ὑπαρχουσῶν. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον δέκα τούτων αὐτοὶ <sup>5</sup> <sup>10</sup> ἔμελλον πέμψειν καὶ Μελαγκρίδαν, ὃς αὐτοῖς ναύαρχος ἦν· ἔπειτα

2. ἀλκιβιάδης AEFM[G]. 9. αὐτοῖς BC. 10. πέμπειν AC etc.

it should be adopted alternately with his own name. Classen regards these words as probably spurious, giving as his reasons the strange position of *Λακωνικόν*, the plural *αὐτῶν* (which may however be explained by the plural implied in *πατρικός*), the harsh expression Ἐνδῖος Ἀλκιβιάδου ἐκαλεῖτο, and the want of relevancy in the whole statement. We may add that Thuc. does not elsewhere use *ὅθεν* in this sense, nor has he *οἰκία* for 'family'. Lastly the phrase Ἐνδῖος Ἀλκιβιάδου ἐκαλεῖτο looks very much as if the writer thought that the present Alcibiades was called after Endius' father.

3. κατὰσκοπον] In Thuc. *κατάσκοπος* is always (except perhaps in vi, 63, 3) a man sent to verify reports by personal observation. cp. *κατασκοπή*, vi, 46, 3.

4. ἱκανή...πρὸς τὴν λεγομένην δόξαν] *ἱκανή* is used absolutely, and *πρὸς* means 'by the standard of'. The *κατάσκοπος* had to ascertain the actual resources of the state 'tried by the standard of' the representations which had been made to them. cp. i, 10, 2 πολλὴν ἂν οἶμαι ἀπιστίαν τῆς δυνάμεως...πρὸς τὸ κλέος αὐτῶν εἶναι, where the idea of *ἀπιστίαν* might be supplemented by some such words as *μὴ ἱκανὴν εἶναι*. cp. also v, 9, 4; and v. Golisch *de praepos. usu Thucyd.* pt. vi, p. 13.—ἀπαγγείλαντος: for the omission of αὐτοῦ cp. iii, 92, 5. It is more common when the participle is plural; cp. c. 14,

1, and note.—ἀφ' ὧν οἱ Χῖοι ἔλεγον: cp. iv, 126, 3 ἀφ' ὧν ἐγὼ εἰκάζω. vii, 48, 2 ἀφ' ὧν...ἠσθάνετο αὐτῶν.

9. αὐτοὶ ἔμελλον πέμψειν] This is another way of putting *παρεσκευάζοντο ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ* (v. *infra*). *αὐτοὶ* does not mean Spartans proper as opposed to Perioeci; cp. c. 3, 2 ἐαυτοῖς...πέντε καὶ εἰκοσὶν ἔταξαν. Both here and in c. 3 the Lac. furnish a quarter of the whole force, which was probably their regular contingent.

10. ναύαρχος] A nauarch was appointed at Sparta as early as 480 B.C. (Herod. viii, 42), but the custom cannot have been established then as Herodotus remarks upon the fact that he did not belong to the royal family, and in the following year the nauarchy goes back to the king. The necessity of maintaining a Spartan fleet during the Peloponnesian war gave much greater prominence to the office. From 430 to the loss of the Spartan fleet at Pylos in 425 we hear of Cnemus (ii, 66), Alcidas (iii, 16), Thrasymelidas (iv, 11), as successive ναύαρχοι. From 425 to the appointment of Melancrias (413) it seems probable that, as there was no fleet, no admiral was appointed. Nothing is known as to the method of election, but the office was a yearly one, entered upon (normally) in September or October, and the holder was not eligible for re-election. This was

σεισμοῦ γενομένου ἀντὶ τοῦ Μελαγκρίδου Χαλκιδέα ἔπεμπον καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν δέκα νεῶν πέντε παρεσκευάζοντο ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ. καὶ ὁ χειμῶν ἐτελεύτα, καὶ ἐνὸς δέον εἰκοστὸν ἔτος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα τῷδε δὲ Θουκυδίδης ξυνέγραψεν.

VII. Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους εὐθὺς ἐπειγομένων τῶν Χίων 5 ἀποστεῖλαι τὰς ναῦς καὶ δεδιότων μὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ πρασσόμενα αἰσθῶνται (πάντες γὰρ κρύφα αὐτῶν ἐπρεσβεύοντο), ἀποπέμπουσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐς Κόρινθον ἄνδρας Σπαρτιάτας τρεῖς, ὅπως ἀπὸ τῆς ἐτέρας θαλάσσης ὡς τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς Ἀθήνας 10 ὑπερευγκόντες τὰς ναῦς τὸν ἰσθμὸν κελεύσωσι πλεῖν ἐς Χίον πάσας, καὶ ὅς ὁ Ἄγις παρεσκεύαζεν ἐς τὴν Λέσβον καὶ τὰς ἄλλας. 2 ἦσαν δὲ αἱ ξύμπασαι [τῶν ξυμμαχικῶν] νῆες αὐτόθι μίᾳς δέουσαι τεσσαράκοντα.

3. δέοντος AB. cp. c. 17, 3.

5. ἄμα δὲ τῷ ἦρι τοῦ B. Valla also translates this reading.

8. ἄνδρας Σπαρτιάτας ἐς Κόρινθον AC etc.; which is very possibly right.

12. ξυμμαχίδων B. v. note.

evaded in the case of Lysander by appointing him for two years ἐπιστολεύς, or second in command, with a merely nominal chief. Aristotle's remark that the ναυαρχία became σχεδὸν ἐτέρα βασιλεῖα (*Pol.* ii, 9, 22), though possibly true in Lysander's case, is misleading as a general proposition. cp. Beloch, *Rhein. Museum* xxxiv, 117 ff. and Underhill on Xen. *Hell.* i, 5, 1.

1. σεισμοῦ] cp. c. 41, 2. No doubt it was part of the same disturbance. There are some interesting particulars as to the treatment of earthquakes as omens in Xen. *Hell.* iv, 7, 4.

5. εὐθὺς] This goes with τοῦ ἐπειγ. θέρους, cp. iv, 52, 1. The fuller phrase, τοῦ θέρους εὐθὺς ἀρχομένου, occurs ii, 47, 2. v, 52, 1.

ἐπειγομένων...ἀποστεῖλαι] There is no authority for making ἐπείγεσθαι transitive, and translating 'urged them (the Lac.) to send...'. The meaning is 'They (the Chians) were in a hurry to despatch the ships'. οἱ Χῖοι (as in § 4) must be the Chian ambassadors at Sparta. ἀποστελλεῖν is not always used of the agent primarily responsible for sending; cp.

c. 28, 5 Πεδάριτον...ἐς τὴν Χίον ἄρχοντα Λακεδαιμονίων πεμφάντων, ἀποστέλλουσι πεζῇ...i.e. the armament 'despatch' him to his government, though they are not really the senders. To complete the parallel between the two passages we have here ἀποπέμπουσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι immediately following.

10. ὑπερευγκόντες τὰς ναῦς τὸν ἰσθμὸν] cp. iii, 81, 1. The same operation is described in almost the same words in iii, 15, 1. The distance would be about 5 miles.

12. ἦσαν δὲ αἱ ξύμπασαι κ.τ.λ.] Clasen's view that τῶν ξυμμαχίδων (the reading of B) means τῶν ξυμμαχίδων πόλεων can hardly be maintained. The only instance which he quotes to justify the omission of πόλις is ii, 2, 1 Ἠλᾶταιαν...οὐσαν Ἀθηναίων ξυμμαχίδα. This is clearly not parallel. Krüger (who retains τῶν ξυμμαχικῶν) thinks that τὰ ξυμμαχικά may be practically equivalent to οἱ ξύμμαχοι, quoting Xen. *Cyr.* iii, 3, 12; but for Thuc. at all events the usage is unexampld, and extremely improbable. On the other hand it is difficult to see how the expression αἱ ξύμπασαι τῶν ξυμμαχίδων (νεῶν) νῆες can be justified, unless τῶν

VIII. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Καλλίγειτος καὶ Τιμαγόρας ὑπὲρ τοῦ Φαρναβάζου οὐκ ἐκοινοῦντο τὸν στόλον ἐς τὴν Χίον, οὐδὲ τὰ χρήματα ἐδίδοσαν ἃ ἦλθον ἔχοντες ἐς τὴν ἀποστολήν, πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι τάλαντα, ἀλλ' ὕστερον ἐφ' ἐαυτῶν διενοοῦντο ἄλλῃ στόλῳ πλεῖν.  
 5 ὁ δὲ Ἄγης ἐπειδὴ ἑώρα τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐς τὴν Χίον πρῶτον 2 ὠρμημένους, οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἄλλο τι ἐγέννησκειν, ἀλλὰ ξυνελθόντες ἐς Κόρινθον οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐβουλευόντο, καὶ ἔδοξε πρῶτον ἐς Χίον αὐτοῖς πλεῖν ἄρχοντα ἔχοντα Χαλκιδεά, ὃς ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ τὰς πέντε ναῦς παρεσκεύαζεν, ἔπειτα ἐς Λέσβον, καὶ Ἀλκαμένη  
 10 ἄρχοντα, ὃνπερ καὶ Ἄγης διενοεῖτο, τὸ τελευταῖον δὲ ἐς τὸν Ἑλλάσποντον ἀφικέσθαι (προσετέτακτο δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν ἄρχων Κλέ-

2. ἐκοινοῦντο ABCEFG.

9. παρεσκεύασεν EFGM, and a later hand in C.

ξυμμαχίδων were a partitive genitive implying that a larger number might have been available (cp. vii, 30, 3 οἱ δὲ ξύμπαντες τῶν Θρακῶν...ἀπέθανον). But this is not the case; for of the 40 ships voted in c. 6, 4 ff. only 30 were 'allied', and even if we assume that the 10 promised by Agis to the Lesbians (c. 5, 2) were ξυμμαχίδες (which is very unlikely) the full total would have been 40, and the difference of one in the number actually assembled would certainly not account for the form of expression employed. But if τῶν ξυμμαχικῶν be omitted, αἱ ξύμπασαι νῆες at once has a perfectly natural meaning, viz. 'the combined force of Agis and the allies' (cp. c. 63, 2. 103, 1), and the number is just what might be expected. The insertion of τῶν ξυμμαχικῶν (i.e. νεῶν) may perhaps have been due to an annotator who wished to recall the fact that the Lacedaemonian contingent of the τεσσαράκοντα νῆες originally intended for the expedition (c. 6, 4) did not form part of these 39. This is shown by c. 8, 2.

3. ἐς τὴν ἀποστολήν] 'to get ships sent to the Hellespont'. cp. note on ἀποστείλαι, c. 7, 1.—ἐφ' ἐαυτῶν: 'on their own account'. This use of ἐπὶ is rare in Thuc., but occurs ii, 63, 3. v, 67, 1. vi,

40, 2 (where however ἀφ' αὐτῆς may be right), and viii, 63, 4. cp. also τὸ ἐφ' ἐαυτῶν, i, 17.

5. ἐς τὴν Χίον ὠρμημένους] a condensed expression, with the meaning which is more fully given in c. 60, 2 πρὸς τὴν τῆς Χίου βοήθειαν μάλλον ὠρμητο. ὀρμᾶσθαι ἐς in this metaphorical sense ('to be eager for') is not often followed by the name of a place. cp. ii, 65, 2. iv, 14, 1.—οἱ ξύμμαχοι: i.e. deputies from the states who had been required to furnish ships in c. 3, 2.

9. καὶ Ἀλκαμένη ἄρχοντα] The following words ὃνπερ καὶ Ἄγης διενοεῖτο refer to c. 5, 2, and mean 'whom Agis was (before) intending to go to Lesbos as commander', not 'whom he intended to command this particular expedition'. The construction must therefore be καὶ (ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς) Ἀλκαμένη ἄρχοντα (πλεῖν), ὃνπερ καὶ Ἄγης (πλεῖν) διενοεῖτο. The explanation of the Scholiast, Ἀλκαμένη ἄρχοντα ἔχοντα, would suggest ὃνπερ καὶ Ἄγης (ἔχειν αὐτοὺς) διενοεῖτο, which was not the fact.

11. προσετέτακτο] cp. c. 80, 1. He had been appointed by the authorities at home. ἐς αὐτὸν ἄρχων go closely together; cp. c. 28, 5 ἐς τὴν Χίον ἄρχοντα, and note.

3 *αρχος* ὁ 'Ραμφίου), διαφέρειν δὲ τὸν ἰσθμὸν τὰς ἡμισείας τῶν νεῶν πρῶτον, καὶ εὐθὺς ταύτας ἀποπλεῖν, ὅπως μὴ οἱ 'Αθηναῖοι πρὸς τὰς ἀφορμωμένας μᾶλλον τὸν νοῦν ἔχωσιν ἢ τὰς ὕστερον ἐπιδι-  
4 *α* φερόμενας. καὶ γὰρ τὸν πλοῦν ταύτῃ ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς ἐποιοῦντο, καταφρονήσαντες τῶν 'Αθηναίων ἀδυνασίαν, ὅτι ναυτικὸν οὐδὲν 5 αὐτῶν πολὺ πω ἐφαίνετο. ὥς δὲ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ διεκόμισαν εὐθὺς μίαν καὶ εἴκοσι ναῦς.

IX. Οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι, ἐπειγομένων αὐτῶν τὸν πλοῦν, οὐ προθυμύθησαν ξυμπλεῖν πρὶν τὰ 'Ισθμια, ἃ τότε ἦν, διεορτάσωσιν.

3. τὸν νοῦν μᾶλλον B. διαφερόμενας AC etc.

1. *διαφέρειν*] This word is here used for the more appropriate *ὑπερφέρειν* of c. 7, 1. So too *διεκόμισαν* in § 4, which is generally applied to carriage by sea. But the fact that the ships are to be dragged overland having now been made clear, a less particular word answers the purpose.—τὸν νοῦν ἔχωσι πρὸς...: cp. iii, 22, 5. vii, 19, 5.

4. *ταύτῃ ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς*] By sailing from Cenchreae they passed under the very eyes of the Athenians. A contrast is implied between this and the caution of Chalcideus and Alcibiades (c. 14, 1), as well as of the later reinforcement in c. 39. The same inference is to be drawn from πω in the following clause,—they had no reason to be cautious *yet*, though they had afterwards.

5. *καταφρονήσαντες* κ.τ.λ.] 'despising Athens as helpless'. τῶν 'Αθηναίων seems to be the gen. of the indirect object governed by *κατά*, as if the phrase were *καταγρόντες* τῶν 'Αθ. ἀδυνασίαν. cp. iii, 16, 1 *διὰ κατάγνωσιν ἀσθενείας σφῶν*. Classen thinks that τῶν 'Αθηναίων depends upon ἀδυνασίαν (i.e. *καταφρ. τὴν τῶν 'Αθ. ἀδυνασίαν*), comparing for the omission of the article i, 3, 1. iv, 12, 2; but none of his exx. are so harsh as this. It is to be noticed that the common Attic construction of the gen. of the *direct* object after *καταφρονεῖν* is only used once by Thuc. (vii, 63, 4). In eight out of the thirteen passages in which the word

occurs, no object is expressed. Three times (including the present passage) it is followed by an acc. (though perhaps in vi, 34, 9 *τοὺς ἐπὶόντας* should be struck out), and once (iii, 83, 4) by the infinitive. In Ionic and early Attic the meaning of *καταφρονεῖν* appears to have been more elastic than it afterwards became. Sometimes it is merely 'to observe contemptuously'; cp. Herod. viii, 10 *καταφρονήσαντες ταῦτα*. i, 66 *καταφρονήσαντες 'Αρκάδων κρέσσονες εἶναι*. ἀδυνασία is an Ionic form which occurs also in vii, 8, 2.—ὥς δὲ ἔδοξεν κ.τ.λ.: cp. note on c. 1, 4.

cc. 9—14. The Athenians suspect that the Chians are preparing to revolt, and call upon them to furnish ships which will serve as hostages for their good faith. They send seven. The Athenians watch the enemy's fleet at Cenchreae, and when it puts to sea drive it into Peiraeum on the Corinthian coast, and blockade it there. The Spartans are discouraged and think of giving up the expedition, but Alcibiades persuades them to send on himself and Chalcideus with five ships to Chios. Return of the Peloponnesian ships from Sicily.

8. *ἐπειγομένων...τὸν πλοῦν*] cp. iii, 2, 3. vi, 100, 1. *προθυμείσθαι* frequently has the same construction, and *ἐπειγομένων ἀποστείλαι* (c. 7, 1) is practically *ἐπειγομένων τὴν ἀποστολήν*.

9. *τὰ 'Ισθμια*] The Isthmian games took place in the first and third year of

\* Ἄγεις δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐτοῖμος ἦν ἐκείνους μὲν μὴ λύειν δὴ τὰς Ἰσθμιάδας σπονδάς, ἑαυτοῦ δὲ τὸν στόλον ἴδιον ποιήσασθαι. οὐ ξυγχωρούντων<sup>2</sup> δὲ τῶν Κορινθίων, ἀλλὰ διατριβῆς ἐγγιγνομένης, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἡσθάνοντο τὰ τῶν Χίων μᾶλλον, καὶ πέμψαντες ἓνα τῶν στρατηγῶν Ἀριστοκράτη ἐπηγιῶντο αὐτούς, καὶ ἀρνούμενων τῶν Χίων, † τὸ πιστόν † ναῦς σφίσι ξυμπέμπειν ἐκέλευον ἐς τὸ ξυμμαχικόν.

4. ἦσθοντο AC etc.; but the impf. is more appropriate. B omits μᾶλλον...αὐτοῖς.

each Olympiad, and would therefore fall at each alternate celebration in the same year as the Olympian. The Olympian games were always in July. When therefore both fell in the same year (as on this occasion, 412 B.C. being OL. 91, 4—92, 1), the Isthmian were celebrated in May or June, so as not to clash with the Olympian. In other years the Isthmian were held in the summer, probably in July.

**διοεράσων]** The subj. after *πρὶν* without *ἄν* is rare in Attic, but cp. vi, 10, 5. 29, 2. viii, 9, 3. Soph. *Phil.* 917, *Ant.* 619.

1. **ἐτοῖμος ἦν]** 'proposed'. It expresses more than mere passive willingness; cp. vi, 29, 1. *ἐτοῖμος* is constructed indifferently with pres. or aor. infin.; cp. iv, 124, 3. v, 59, 5. The transition here (*λύειν, ποιήσασθαι*) has no special significance. *αὐτοῖς* is a vague dat. of the persons concerned, something like *σφίσι*, c. 1, 2. Agis does not propose any change in the constitution of the expedition, but suggests that it shall be considered his, as a matter of form. The sacred truce during the games bound the state that was actually celebrating them, and ensured a safe conduct to all who came to take part in them, or to be spectators, but did not prevent hostilities being carried on by other states in other parts of Greece.—**ἑαυτοῦ ἴδιον**: 'his private affair': the gen. goes closely with *ἴδιον*. This is very common in the orators; cp. Isocr. 184, 2.

4. **μᾶλλον]** 'more and more'. cp. c. 10, 1. 63, 1. It has here the same force as

the double *μᾶλλον* in Eur. *I. T.* 1406.

6. **τὸ πιστόν]** It must, I think, be admitted that to take *τὸ πιστόν* as in apposition either to *ναῦς* or to *ναῦς σφίσι ξυμπέμπειν* is very harsh, if not impossible. Both the article and the position of the words are against it. Nor has *τὸ πιστόν* elsewhere in Thuc. the meaning of 'a pledge'. *Classen* (though suggesting *τὸ πιστόν*, governed by *ἀρνούμενων*, as possible) really agrees with *Stahl* that the words should be struck out. But the various explanations that have been offered to account for their introduction are not very convincing. Further, though the context is intelligible without them, it is not altogether natural. The following sentences proceed to explain the sending of the ships on the understanding that they were asked for and sent as *hostages*. Of course this may be inferred in any case, but I think a careful reading of the whole passage produces the impression that Thuc. in the first sentence intends some expressed, as well as implied, allusion to the fact. If this is so it seems possible that the text originally ran, καὶ, ἀρνούμενων τῶν Χίων, ἐπίστουν, ναῦς σφίσι ξυμπέμπειν κελεύοντες ἐς τὸ ξυμμαχικόν. For *ἐπίστουν* cp. iv, 88, 1 *πιστώσαντες αὐτὸν τοῖς ὅρκοις*. The comparative rarity of the word might account for the corruption, while the final syllable of *κελεύοντες* would easily drop out before *ἐς*. *τὸ ξυμμαχικόν* means 'the allied force'; cp. iii, 107, 2 *ἡγεμόνα τοῦ παντὸς ξυμμαχικοῦ αἰροῦνται Δημοσθένη*.

3 οἱ δ' ἔπεμψαν ἑπτὰ. αἴτιον δ' ἐγένετο τῆς ἀποστολῆς τῶν νεῶν οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ τῶν Χίων οὐκ εἰδότες τὰ πρασσόμενα, οἱ δὲ ὀλίγοι καὶ ξυνειδότες τό τε πλήθος οὐ βουλόμενοί πω πολέμιον ἔχειν, πρὶν τι καὶ ἰσχυρὸν λάβωσι, καὶ τοὺς Πελοποννησίους οὐκέτι προσδεχόμενοι ἤξευν, ὅτι διέτριβον. 5

X. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τὰ Ἴσθμια ἐγίγνετο, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι (ἐπηγγέλθησαν γὰρ) ἐθεώρουν ἐς αὐτά, καὶ κατάδηλα μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς τὰ τῶν Χίων ἐφάνη. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀνεχώρησαν, παρεσκευάζοντο εὐθὺς ὅπως μὴ λήσουσιν αὐτοὺς αἱ νῆες ἐκ τῶν Κεγχρειῶν 10 ἀφορμηθεῖσαι. οἱ δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἐορτὴν ἀνήγοντο μιᾷ καὶ εἴκοσι ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν Χίον, ἄρχοντα Ἀλκαμένην ἔχοντες. καὶ αὐτοῖς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ πρῶτον ἴσαις ναυσὶ προσπλεύσαντες ὑπήγον ἐς τὸ πέλαγος· ὥς δ' ἐπὶ πολὺ οὐκ ἐπηκολούθησαν οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι 3 ἄλλ' ἀπετράποντο, ἐπανεχώρησαν καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι· τὰς γὰρ τῶν Χίων ἑπτὰ ναῦς ἐν τῷ ἀριθμῷ μετὰ σφῶν ἔχοντες οὐ πιστὰς 15 ἐνόμιζον. ἄλλ' ὕστερον ἄλλας προσπληρώσαντες <ἐς> ἑπτὰ καὶ

1. *ἐπεμψον* M. 3. AC etc. omit *καὶ*. Hude proposes *οἱ* for *καὶ*. 7. B (with which Valla agrees) adds *αἱ σπονδαὶ* after *ἐπηγγέλθησαν γὰρ*; but the scholiast's explanation, *αἱ σπονδαὶ δηλονότι*, both supports the text, and reveals the origin of the interpolation. 12. *ἐπήγον* AC etc. 16. *ἐς* is not given in the MSS., but *v.* note.

1. *αἴτιον δ' ἐγένετο*] In Thuc. when *αἴτιος* is predicated of persons or things, if it follows them, it agrees in gender and number, e.g. i, 69, 1 *καὶ τῶνδε ὑμεῖς αἴτιοι*; if it precedes (as here) it is put in the neuter singular, e.g. i, 11, 1 *αἴτιον δ' ἦν οὐχ ἡ ὀλιγανθρωπία τοσούτον ὅσον ἡ ἀρηματία*. iv, 26, 5 *αἴτιον δ' ἦν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι κ.τ.λ.* The one exception to this latter rule is iii, 38, 4 *αἴτιοι δ' ὑμεῖς κακῶς ἀγωνοθεοῦντες*.

4. *πρὶν τι καὶ ἰσχυρὸν λάβωσι*] cp. ii, 6, 1. iv, 27, 2 *ὅτι ἔχοντάς τι ἰσχυρὸν αὐτοὺς ἐνόμιζον οὐκέτι σφίσις ἐπικηρυκεῖσθαι*; and for this force of *λαμβάνειν* cp. i, 91, 1 *τειγίζεται τε καὶ ἤδη ὕψος λαμβάνει (τὸ τεῖχος)*.

7. *ἐπηγγέλθησαν γάρ*] *v.* crit. note. The subject to *ἐπηγγέλθησαν* must be τὰ Ἴσθμια. Stahl compares i, 126, 5 *ἐπῆλθον Ὀλύμπια*, and v, 75, 2 *Κάρνεια ἐτύγχανον ὄντα*. For *ἐπαγγέλλειν* cp. v, 49.

10. *ἀφορμηθεῖσαι*] aor. part. because it was only the fact of their starting that they wanted to know. *ἀφορμώμεναι* would have meant that they wished to catch them in the act of starting. cp. c. 8, 3.

11. *αὐτοῖς*] governed by *προσπλεύσαντες*; cp. ii, 83, 3.—*ὑπήγον*: 'tried to draw them on'. In iv, 126, 6, and v, 10, 3, *ὑπάγειν* is used intransitively, meaning 'to retreat', and that meaning would make sense here. But though the active does not occur elsewhere in Thuc. in the sense of 'drawing on' (the *middle* is so used in vii, 46), it is common in Xen. (e.g. *Cyr.* i, 6, 37. iii, 2, 8), and seems more appropriate to the present passage.

16. <ἐς> *ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα*] 'making up the whole number to thirty-seven'. *ἐς* seems necessary, and it might easily have fallen out after *προσπληρώσαντες*. We have 21 ships to start with. Without the

- τριάκοντα, παραπλέοντας αὐτοὺς καταδιώκουσιν ἐς Πειραιὸν τῆς Κορινθίας· ἔστι δὲ λιμὴν ἐρήμος καὶ ἔσχατος πρὸς τὰ μεθόρια τῆς Ἐπιδαυρίας. καὶ μίαν μὲν ναὺν ἀπολλύουσι μετέωρον οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ξυναγαγόντες ὀρμίζουσι. καὶ προσ-  
 5 βαλόντων τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ταῖς ναυσὶ καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἀποβάντων, θόρυβός τε ἐγένετο πολὺς καὶ ἄτακτος, καὶ τῶν τε νεῶν τὰς πλείους κατατραυματίζουσιν ἐν τῇ γῇ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα Ἀλκαμένη ἀποκτείνουσι· καὶ αὐτῶν τινες ἀπέθανον.
- 10 XI. Διακριθέντες δὲ πρὸς μὲν τὰς πολεμίας ναῦς ἐπέταξαν ἐφορμεῖν ἱκανάς, ταῖς δὲ λοιπαῖς ἔς τι νησίδιον ὀρμίζονται, ἐν ᾧ οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχοντι ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο, καὶ ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐπὶ βοήθειαν ἔπεμπον. παρήσαν γὰρ καὶ τοῖς Πελοποννησίοις τῇ 2 ὑστεραίᾳ οἱ τε Κορίνθιοι βοηθοῦντες ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς, καὶ οὐ πολλῶ  
 15 ὕστερον καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρόσχωροι. καὶ ὀρώντες τὴν φυλακὴν ἐν χωρίῳ ἐρήμῳ ἐπίπονον οὖσαν ἡπόρουν· καὶ ἐπενόησαν μὲν κατα-

11. The MSS. give ἐς τὸ, but *v.* note.

ἐς we should be told that 37 are here added, making 58 in all. This, after the withdrawal of 27, some of which were replaced (*v.* c. 15 for details), would leave us a total of well over 31. But in c. 20, 1, we find that the total is actually only 20. This can only be reconciled by supposing that the *whole number* is now raised to 37. The withdrawal of 27, 10 of which are afterwards replaced (*v.* note on c. 15, 2), thus gives the required total.

4. προσβαλόντων τῶν Ἀθηναίων *κ.τ.λ.*] ἐς τὴν γῆν ἀποβάντων answers to κατὰ θάλασσαν ταῖς ναυσὶ, and both are subordinate to προσβαλόντων. A very similar phrase occurs in c. 4, 1 παρεσκευάζοντο τὴν τε ναυπηγίαν...καὶ Σούνιον τεύχσαντες, which would be almost exactly like προσέβαλον ταῖς ναυσὶ καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἀποβάντες.

7. ἐν τῇ γῇ] When said of ships this means 'close upon the shore'; cp. iv, 13, 4, and 14, 1 ταῖς δὲ λοιπαῖς ἐν τῇ γῇ καταπεφενγυῖαις ἐνέβαλλον. (iv, 26, 3 is not to the point, Cobet's emendation οἱ μὲν...οἱ δὲ being almost certain.)

ἐν γῇ means 'on land', generally, as opposed to 'on shipboard' (cp. iv, 10, 4 οὐκ ἐν γῇ...ἀλλ' ἀπὸ νεῶν), but when a particular operation is being described we have ἐν τῇ γῇ 'on the land'; cp. vii, 30, 2. viii, 107, 1. Thuc. uses κατατραυματίζειν both of men and ships, τραυματίζειν of men only.

10. διακριθέντες] *sc.* οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. But elsewhere in Thuc. (except in iii, 9, 2), it is always said of *both* the parties separating. *c.g.* i, 105, 5 διεκρίθησαν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων.

11. ἔς τι νησίδιον] *τι* seems a necessary correction for τὸ, as there are a number of small islands along the coast and no indication is given of the particular one in question.—οὐ πολλὸν ἀπέχοντι: causal, 'as it was not far distant'.

14. βοηθοῦντες ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς] cp. iii, 97, 3, and for βοηθεῖν ἐπὶ in general *v.* note on c. 15, 2. πρόσχωροι (for πλησιόχωροι) occurs here only in Thuc.

16. ἐπενόησαν] used similarly in v, 4, 2, of an extreme measure intended but not carried out. cp. also i, 70, 2.

καῦσαι τὰς ναῦς, ἔπειτα δὲ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ἀνελκύσαι καὶ τῷ πεζῷ προσκαθημένους φυλακὴν ἔχειν, ἕως ἂν τις παρατύχη διαφυγὴ ἐπιτηδεῖα. ἔπεμψε δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἄγρις αἰσθόμενος ταῦτα ἄνδρα  
 3 Σπαρτιάτην Θέρμωνα. τοῖς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις πρῶτον μὲν ἠγγέλθη ὅτι αἱ νῆες ἀνηγμέναι εἰσὶν ἐκ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ (εἴρητο γάρ, ὅταν 5 γένηται τοῦτο, [Ἀλκαμένει ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφόρων] ἱππέα πέμψαι), καὶ εὐθὺς τὰς παρὰ σφῶν πέντε ναῦς καὶ Χαλκιδέα ἄρχοντα καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδην μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐβούλοντο πέμπειν· ἔπειτα, ὥρμημένων αὐτῶν, τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ Πειραιῷ τῶν νεῶν καταφυγὴν ἠγγέλθη, καὶ ἀθυμήσαντες, ὅτι πρῶτον ἀπτόμενοι τοῦ Ἰωνικοῦ πολέμου 10 ἔπταισαν, τὰς ναῦς τὰς ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτῶν οὐκ ἐτι διενοοῦντο πέμπειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τινὰς προانهγμένας μετακαλεῖν.

XII. Γινούς δὲ ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης πείθει αὐθις Ἐνδιον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐφόρους μὴ ἀποκνήσαι τὸν πλοῦν, λέγων ὅτι φθῆσονται 15 τε πλεύσαντες πρὶν τὴν τῶν νεῶν ξυμφορὰν Χίους αἰσθέσθαι, καὶ αὐτός, ὅταν προσβάλῃ Ἰωνία, ῥαδίως πείσειν τὰς πόλεις ἀφίστασθαι, τὴν τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων λέγων ἀσθένειαν καὶ τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων προθυμίαν· πιστότερος γὰρ ἄλλων φανείσθαι.  
 2 Ἐνδίῳ τε αὐτῷ ἰδίᾳ ἔλεγε καλὸν εἶναι δι' ἐκείνου ἀποστήσai τε Ἰωνίαν καὶ βασιλέα ξύμμαχον ποιῆσαι Λακεδαιμονίους, καὶ μὴ 20

6. ἀλκαμένη ABM. C appears to have had ἀλκαμένι, altered, by the first hand, to ei. 8. ἐβούλευοντο B. 15. τε is omitted by AC etc. πρὶν ἢ (cp. v, 61, 1) τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ξυμφορὰν B. 16. ὅτι ἦν προσβάλῃ B. πείσει B. 17. ACEFG omit τῶν before Ἀθηναίων. ἀσθένειαν λέγων B. 18. πιστότερον AEFGM. πιστότεροι C.

2. διαφυγὴ ἐπιτηδεῖα] 'some favourable opening for escape'. For ἐπιτήδειος in this sense cp. i, 58, 1. διαφυγὴ does not occur elsewhere in Thuc.

6. Ἀλκαμένει ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφόρων] The awkward position of these words points strongly to their being an interpolation. It is difficult to believe that Thuc. wrote the clause as it stands, and they are not necessary to the sense.—τὰς παρὰ σφῶν πέντε ναῦς: v. c. 6, 5, and note. Chalcideus is sent as commander of the whole expedition (v. c. 8, 2), not merely of the five ships.

8. ὥρμημένων αὐτῶν] 'while they were in this state of eagerness'. The

words are contrasted with the following ἀθυμήσαντες. cp. c. 8, 2 ἐς τὴν Χίον... ὥρμημένους.

13. γινούς] The object omitted as in iv, 125, 1. viii, 105, 3.—αὐθις: because it was he who had originally persuaded them in c. 8, 3.

16. ὅταν] The reading of B looks like an alteration to uniformity. Thuc. however often changes from ὅτι to the infin. in the same sentence. cp. iii, 25, 1 ἔλεγε ὅτι ἐσβολὴ ἔσται...προαποπεμφθῆναι τε αὐτός. cp. also i, 87, 4.

19. δι' ἐκείνου] viz. Alcibiades. δι' ἐαυτοῦ, as Classen remarks, would be indistinct after Ἐνδίῳ τε αὐτῷ.



Ἄγιδος τὸ ἀγώνισμα τοῦτο γενέσθαι· ἐτύγχανε γὰρ τῷ Ἄγιδι αὐτὸς διάφορος ὢν. καὶ ὁ μὲν πείσας τοὺς τε ἄλλους ἐφόρους 3 καὶ Ἐνδριον ἀνήγετο ταῖς πέντε ναυσὶ μετὰ Χαλκιδέως, καὶ διὰ τάχους τὸν πλοῦν ἐποιοῦντο.

5 XIII. Ἀνεκομίζοντο δὲ ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τοῦτον καὶ αἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Σικελίας Πελοποννησίων ἑκκαίδεκα νῆες αἱ μετὰ Γυλῖππου ξυνδιαπολεμήσασαι, καὶ περὶ τὴν Λευκαδίαν ἀποληφθεῖσαι καὶ κοπεῖσαι ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀττικῶν ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι νεῶν, ὧν ἦρχεν Ἴπποκλῆς Μενίππου, φυλακὴν ἔχων τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Σικελίας νεῶν, 10 αἱ λοιπαὶ πλὴν μιᾶς διαφυγεῖσαι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους κατέπλευσαν εἰς τὴν Κόρινθον.

XIV. Ὁ δὲ Χαλκιδεὺς καὶ ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης πλείοντες ὅσοις τε

3. The MSS. give χαλκιδέως τοῦ λακεδαιμονίου, which cannot be genuine after the previous mention of him in cc. 6, 8, 11. 5. EM omit αὐτὸν. ABF omit αἱ before ἀπὸ τῆς Σικελίας. 7. ξυμπολεμήσασαι AC etc. ἀπολειφθεῖσαι ABM.

2. αὐτὸς διάφορος ὢν] Alc. was suspected of an intrigue with Agis' wife. Plut. Alc. c. 23. τοὺς τε ἄλλους...καί, is a method of emphasising the following name which much resembles Plato's καὶ δὴ καί, *Rcp.* 328, B, &c.

5. αἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Σικελίας] There is nothing strange in αἱ having fallen out in some of the MSS. after καί, and it improves the sense so much (the ships and their number having been mentioned before) that we need not hesitate to retain it. The 16 ships are made up of 2 Laconian and 2 Corinthian (vi, 104, 1), with 12 Corinthian, Ambraciot, and Leucadian (vii, 7, 1).

6. Γυλῖππου] Gylippus' first appearance is in vi, 93, 2. This is his last. Plutarch (*Nic.* 28) says that he was exiled; Athenaeus (p. 234, c) that he starved himself to death.

7. ἀποληφθεῖσαι] 'intercepted'. cp. ii, 90, 4. vi, 49, 3. The ordinary route from Sicily and Italy would be straight across from the Iapygian promontory to somewhere about Corcyra, and then along the coast southwards.

8. κοπεῖσαι] 'roughly handled', i.e.

actually rammed, elsewhere κατατραυματισθεῖσαι. Thuc. does not appear to use κόπτεσθαι metaphorically, though Demosth. does; cp. *Olynth.* ii, 14 κοπτόμενοι ταῖς στραταίαις.

9. φυλακὴν ἔχων τῶν νεῶν] 'on the look out for the ships'. cp. iv, 26, 8. But elsewhere in Thuc. the gen. after φυλακή is always that *over* which watch is kept; cp. i, 30, 3.

10. αἱ λοιπαὶ πλὴν μιᾶς] For a similar limitation of an original subject by the statement of a fresh subject in apposition cp. ii, 47, 2 Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ ἐχθροὶ, τὰ δύο μέρη, ἐσέβαλον εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν. Thuc. frequently also puts his general subject first, and then subdivides it by proper names or pronouns (or οἱ μὲν and οἱ δὲ) in apposition. cp. v, 67, 2. viii, 80, 3.

cc. 14—19. On the arrival of Chalcideus and Alcibiades, Chios, Erythrae, and Clazomenae, revolt from Athens. On hearing of the revolt of Chios the Athenians determine to use Pericles' reserve fund. They send, first eight, then twelve more ships from the blockading force at Peiraeum to Chios. Teos revolts,

ἐπιτύχοιεν ξυνελάμβανον τοῦ μὴ ἐξάγγελτοι γενέσθαι, καὶ προσβαλόντες· πρῶτον Κωρύκῃ τῆς ἡπείρου καὶ ἀφέντες ἐνταῦθα αὐτούς, αὐτοὶ μὲν προξυγγενόμενοι τῶν ξυμπρασσόντων Χίων τισὶ καὶ κελεύοντων καταπλεῖν μὴ προειπόντας ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ἀφικνούνται αἰφνίδιοι τοῖς Χίοις. καὶ οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ ἐν θαύματι ἦσαν 5  
2 καὶ ἐκπλήξει· τοῖς δ' ὀλίγοις παρεσκεύαστο ὥστε βουλὴν [τε]

and afterwards Miletus, the Athenians arriving too late to prevent it. First treaty between the Lacedaemonians and Persians.

1. **ξυνελάμβανον**] 'took along with them'. A meaning common in the tragedians, e.g. Soph. *Trach.* 1153, but hardly occurring in Thuc. (except perhaps vi, 61, 5). He elsewhere uses *ἐξλαμβάνειν* with the sense 'to seize'. cp. however the note on *ἐξέβαλε* c. 82, 4.

**τοῦ μὴ ἐξάγγελτοι γενέσθαι**] This final use of the gen. of the infin. with the article, though found in Plato, Demosthenes, and Xenophon, occurs first and most frequently in Thucydides. Thuc. has it with a negative (as here) in the following passages: i, 23, 5. ii, 22, 1. 22, 2. 32, 1. 75, 1. 75, 5. 93, 4. v, 27, 2. 72, 4—without a negative only in i, 4, 1. viii, 39, 4, and possibly viii, 87, 3 (v. note *ad loc.*). Kühner (§ 478, B, c) explains it as an attributive genitive giving 'a more precise definition of a whole clause by marking a reason or intention'. It is however the fact that these genitives define a *clause*, which really differentiates them from the ordinary gen. of definition which depends upon a *noun*. Definition of a clause is most commonly given by stating some particular bearing or aspect of the action &c. described in the clause, and this often means stating the purpose in view. But it is quite possible for a definition of this kind not to involve a purpose, and we probably have such an instance in ii, 4, 2 *ἐμπεύρους ἔχοντες τοὺς διώκοντας τοῦ μὴ ἐκφεύγειν* (those who attack the genuineness of this passage generally do so on the assumption that

the gen. depends directly upon *ἐμπεύρους*, which is clearly untenable). On the other hand a gen. immediately depending upon a noun will in the nature of things very seldom convey a purpose; but there is nothing to prevent its doing so; cp. ii, 88, 3 *ἐβούλετο ὑπόμνησιν ποιήσασθαι τοῦ θαρσεῖν*, and iv, 17, 3. The same construction is occasionally used to express a purpose in Latin; cp. Livy ix, 45, 18 *mitterent Romam oratores pacis petendae*; and to complete the analogy Tacitus has a few instances of such genitives depending upon a *clause*, e.g. *Ann.* ii, 59 *Aegyptum profisciscitur cognoscendae antiquitatis*. v. Riemann, *Syntaxe Lat.* p. 443 ff.

**προσβαλόντες πρῶτον Κωρύκῃ τῆς ἡπείρου**] 'Putting in to the mainland first at Corycus'. cp. c. 44, 2 *προσβαλόντες Καμειρῷ τῆς Ῥοδίας πρῶτον*. i, 46, 5 *τῆς ἡπείρου ἐνταῦθα ὁρμίζονται*. The port of Corycus was in the bay on the west side of the Corycian promontory, which is the south point of the great peninsula opposite Chios on the mainland. v. Leake, *Asia Minor*, c. 6, p. 262. cp. Livy xxxvi, 43.—**αὐτούς**: i.e. the crews of the ships which they had detained and brought with them.

4. **κελεύοντων**] sc. τῶν ξυμπρασσόντων Χίων. For similar omission of the subject in a gen. abs. cp. ii, 8, 4. iv, 41, 4. v, 33, 1. vii, 48, 2. It is equally common with a pass. part.; cp. i, 74, 1. 116, 3.—**τοῖς Χίοις** is governed by *αἰφνίδιοι*, which does not elsewhere take a dat. in Thuc., though *ἀνελπιστος* does.

6. **βουλὴν [τε]**] Both this and the following bracketed *τε* have nothing to

- τυχεῖν ξυλληγομένην, καὶ γενομένων λόγων ἀπὸ τε τοῦ Χαλκιδέως καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδου ὡς ἄλλαι [τε] νῆες πολλαὶ προσπλέουσι καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς πολιορκίας τῶν ἐν τῷ Πειραιῷ νεῶν οὐ δηλωσάντων, ἀφίστανται Χίοι καὶ αὐθις Ἐρυθραῖοι Ἀθηναίων. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα 3  
 5 τρισὶ ναυσὶ πλεύσαντες καὶ Κλαζομένους ἀφιστᾶσι. διαβάντες τε εὐθὺς οἱ Κλαζομένιοι ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον τὴν Πολίχναν ἐτείχιζον, εἴ τι δέοι, σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς νησίδος ἐν ᾗ οἰκοῦσι πρὸς ἀναχώρησιν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀφεστῶτες ἐν τειχισμῷ τε πάντες ἦσαν καὶ παρασκευῇ πολέμου.
- 10 XV. Ἐς δὲ τὰς Ἀθήνας ταχὺ ἀγγελία τῆς Χίου ἀφικνέεται. καὶ νομίσαντες μέγαν ἤδη καὶ σαφῆ τὸν κίνδυνον σφᾶς περι-  
 εστάναι, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ξυμμάχους οὐκ ἐβελήσειν τῆς μεγίστης

1. λεγομένων λόγων ACEFG. This, though in itself possible (cp. vi, 23, 3. 68, 1), is wrong in tense, and very unlikely after ξυλληγομένην.

answer to them, and only obscure the sentence. It is very common to find τε inserted by copyists where καὶ immediately follows (as here), although it may really be quite inappropriate. Shilleto defends ἄλλαι τε νῆες, translating 'other ships too' (v. his note on i, 9, 3). This would be more plausible if καὶ did not so immediately follow.

2. τὰ περὶ τῆς πολιορκίας] In such phrases Thuc. appears to use gen. and acc. after περὶ indifferently. For the gen. cp. vi, 32, 3. viii, 26, 2. For the acc. i, 13, 2. viii, 11, 3.—αὐθις: πορρο. cp. v, 43, 3 ἵνα Ἀργεῖους ἐξέλωσι καὶ αὐθις ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους μόνους ἴωσι.

5. διαβάντες ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον] This was always the first precaution, if practicable, when an insular subject of Athens revolted to Sparta, just as in the opposite case when a city on the mainland revolted to Athens they fortified their land approaches and made themselves as far as possible a maritime state; cp. c. 16, 3, where the Spartans destroy the wall which the Athenians had built τῆς Τηλίων πόλεως τὸ πρὸς ἡπειρον. For the sequel as regards Polichna v. c. 23, 6.—νησίδος: νησίς is the regular form in Herod., but

Thuc. elsewhere always has νησίδιον.

7. πρὸς ἀναχώρησιν] 'with a view to retreat'; cp. Demosth. Phil. ii, p. 71 παντοδαπὰ εὐρημένα πρὸς φυλακὴν καὶ σωτηρίαν. An unusual sense of πρὸς in Thuc., but cp. ii, 77, 1. vii, 67, 1. Stahl's προαναχώρησιν does not commend itself. The construction is τὴν Πολ. ἐτείχιζον πρὸς ἀναχώρησιν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς νησίδος. Elsewhere Thuc. has ἐς in this sense. cp. ii, 34, 3. vi, 88, 6. vii, 19, 2. viii, 8, 1.

8. ἐν τειχισμῷ ἦσαν καὶ παρασκευῇ] cp. ii, 101, 2. vi, 26, 2. Soph. O. T. 562 ὁ μάντις ἦν ἐν τῇ τέχνῃ.

10. ἀγγελία τῆς Χίου] cp. Soph. Ajax 221 ἀνδρὸς ἀγγελίαν, but there is no exact parallel for this construction in Thuc., the nearest being i, 61, 1 ἦλθε καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις εὐθὺς ἡ ἀγγελία τῶν πόλεων, ὅτι ἀφιστᾶσι. It has been suggested that ὅτι ἀφίστηκεν may have fallen out here before ἀφικνέεται, but in this particular case the expression 'news about Chios' explains itself, for the name Chios is the key to the importance of the news, and the fact to be emphasized is not that somebody is revolting but that the revolt is the Chians.

πόλεως μεθεστηκυίας ἡσυχάζειν, τά τε χίλια τάλαντα, ὧν διὰ παντὸς τοῦ πολέμου ἐγλίχοντο μὴ ἄψασθαι, εὐθὺς λύσαντες τὰς ἐπικειμένας ζημίας τῷ εἰπόντι ἢ ἐπιψηφίσαντι ὑπὸ τῆς παρούσης ἐκπλήξεως ἐψηφίσαντο κινεῖν, καὶ ναὺς πληροῦν οὐκ ὀλίγας, τῶν τε ἐν τῷ Πειραιῷ ἐφορμουσῶν τὰς μὲν ὀκτὼ ἤδη 5 πέμπειν, αἱ ἀπολιποῦσαι τὴν φυλακὴν τὰς μετὰ Χαλκιδέως διώξασαι καὶ οὐ καταλαβοῦσαι ἀνεκεχωρήκεσαν (ἦρχε δὲ αὐτῶν Στρομβιχίδης Διοτίμου), ἄλλας δὲ οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον βοηθεῖν δώδεκα μετὰ Θρασυκλέους, ἀπολιπούσας καὶ ταύτας τὴν ἐφόρμησιν.

1. ἀφεστηκυίας B. 2. ἄψεσθαι ABCFG. The MSS. give *ἔλυσαν...καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο*, which is very awkward, if not impossible. Cobet's emendation (*λύσαντες*, omitting *καὶ*) involves only slight changes on well recognized principles. v. *Nouv. Lect.* p. 375. 4. μὴ ὀλίγας AC etc.

1. *τά τε χίλια τάλαντα*] cp. ii, 24. Pericles had set this fund aside in the first year of the war on the understanding that it was only to be touched if a hostile fleet actually threatened the Peiraeus.

2. *ἐγλίχοντο μὴ ἄψασθαι*] Plato and Demosth. use *ἐγλίχεσθαι* with an infin., but I find no other instance with a negative. The unusual turn of expression is due to the unusual sense to be expressed. The object they desired was *μὴ ἄψασθαι*, 'to succeed in not touching it in spite of temptations to do so'. This could not be given except by a negative. *ὧν* is governed by *ἄψασθαι*.

*λύσαντες*] We can hardly hesitate to accept this emendation of Cobet's for *ἔλυσαν*, with the further omission which it necessitates of *καὶ* before *ἐψηφίσαντο*. Similar corruptions are by no means infrequent, and the dropping out of *-tes* before *τὰς*, in itself probable enough, would lead as a matter of course to the other changes. Without this alteration the sentence is hardly intelligible either in form or sense, and certainly is not one which Thucydides could have written. There is still however some awkwardness owing to the number of subordinate clauses and the necessity of supplying

*κινεῖν* or its equivalent after *εἰπόντι ἢ ἐπιψηφίσαντι*. The construction is *τά τε χίλια τάλαντα...εὐθὺς λύσαντες τὰς ἐπικειμένας ζημίας τῷ εἰπόντι ἢ ἐπιψηφίσαντι (κινεῖν αὐτά) ὑπὸ τῆς παρούσης ἐκπλήξεως ἐψηφίσαντο κινεῖν, καὶ (ἐψηφίσαντο) ναὺς πληροῦν κ.τ.λ.* It is possible that *τῷ εἰπόντι ἢ ἐπιψηφίσαντι* is an interpolation derived from ii, 24, and the omission of these words would greatly improve the run of the sentence. But there is no means of proving this.—For *ὑπὸ τῆς παρ. ἐκπλήξεως* cp. vi, 103, 4. vii, 72, 2. 75, 7.

5. *τὰς μὲν ὀκτὼ*] Thuc. regularly uses the article with any number which is mentioned as part of a larger number, and which, as employed on some separate work, or for other reasons, may be regarded as a distinct unit. cp. vii, 22, 2. Here the ground of distinction follows, *αἱ ἀπολιποῦσαι κ.τ.λ.* cp. § 2, and iii, 3, 4; also note to c. 25, 1.

*ἤδη*] 'immediately', opposed to *οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον*. cp. i, 42, 2 *φανερὰν ἐχθρὰν ἤδη καὶ οὐ μέλλουσιν*. But *ἤδη* generally means 'now' with reference backwards, i.e. 'by this time', not 'now' with reference forwards, i.e. 'immediately'.—*ἀπολιποῦσαι τὴν φυλακὴν*: this is the first intimation we have of it.

τάς τε τῶν Χίων ἐπὶ τὰ ναῦς, αἱ αὐτοῖς ξυνεπολιόρκουν τὰς ἐν τῷ 2  
Πειραιῷ, ἀπαγαγόντες τοὺς μὲν δούλους ἐξ αὐτῶν ἡλευθέρωσαν,  
τοὺς δ' ἐλευθέρους κατέδησαν. ἑτέρας δὲ <δέκα> ἀντὶ πασῶν  
τῶν ἀπελθουσῶν νεῶν ἐς τὴν ἐφόρμησιν τῶν Πελοποννησίων διὰ  
5 τάρχους πληρώσαντες ἀντέπεμψαν καὶ ἄλλας διενοοῦντο τριάκοντα  
πληροῦν. καὶ πολλή ἦν ἡ προθυμία καὶ ὀλίγον ἐπράσσετο οὐδὲν  
ἐς τὴν βοήθειαν τὴν ἐπὶ τὴν Χίον.

XVI. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Στρομβιχίδης ταῖς ὁκτὼ ναυσὶν ἀφικνεῖται  
ἐς Σάμον, καὶ προσλαβὼν Σαμίαν μίαν ἔπλευσεν ἐς Τέων καὶ  
10 ἡσυχάζειν ἡξίου αὐτούς. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Χίου ἐς τὴν Τέων καὶ ὁ  
Χαλκιδεὺς μετὰ τριῶν καὶ ἑκοσι νεῶν ἐπέπλει, καὶ ὁ πεζὸς

3. ἑτέρας δ' ἀντὶ MSS.; but *v.* note. 6. ACEFG omit ἡ before προθυμία.  
7. AEF omit ἐπὶ τὴν. τὴν χίων A γρ. B γρ. G. τὴν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν χίων M. In a  
phrase so misleading to the eye as τὴν ἐπὶ τὴν Χίον, it is hardly safe to assume that  
variation of MSS. proves interpolation. 10. ἡξίου A. ἡξίου F.

3. ἑτέρας δὲ <δέκα>] Twenty-seven ships, including the Chians, are here drawn from the besieging force. In c. 10, 3 the whole number present was 37. There are therefore 10 left. In c. 20, 1, the total is 20, so that the number here added is almost certainly 10. If the text ran ἑτέρας δὲ ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπελθουσῶν νεῶν we might doubtless understand it to mean 'some others (*i.e.* ten) in place of those which had gone', in which case there would be no difficulty. But there is no sense in saying 'others in place of the whole number of those which had gone', unless we either mean that the others were equal to the whole number in question, or give some smaller definite number in contrast with it. The first hypothesis is impossible, and it seems therefore reasonable to suppose (with Stahl, Clasen, and others) that δέκα (the required number) has here fallen out. The omission and alteration of numbers in the MSS. is of very frequent occurrence, owing to the fact that they were often denoted by letters of the alphabet.

6. ὀλίγον ἐπράσσετο οὐδὲν] οὐκ ὀλίγος is a favourite expression of Thuc. for 'very great' (cp. i. 73, i. 102, i. 106,

i. ii, 31, 2 &c.), and he has phrases very similar to the present in ii, 8, i. vii, 59, 3. 87, 6.

7. βοήθειαν ἐπὶ τὴν Χίον] Arnold (on c. 11, 2) lays down the rule that βοηθεῖν ἐπὶ followed by the name of a person means 'to carry help against', but followed by the name of a place 'to carry aid to', and explains the present passage by saying that Chios was still regarded as part of the Athenian dominions and therefore they were carrying help to it. The rule seems arbitrary and hardly fits the present passage or v, 65, 4. Probably the truth is to be got at by dropping βοηθεῖν and considering ἐπὶ. Followed by the name of a person in the acc. ἐπὶ means 'against', and so the first half of the rule is naturally true. But with the name of a place ἐπὶ merely gives direction towards, and therefore βοηθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν Χίον means to go to Chios for the purpose of aiding somebody. As a matter of fact it will generally be the inhabitants that you are going to aid, but no rule can be laid down, and the objects of the βοήθεια may sometimes, as in the present passage, be indefinitely vague.

2 ἄμα ὁ τῶν Κλαζομενίων καὶ Ἑρυθραίων παρῆει. προαισθόμενος δὲ  
ὁ Στρομβιχίδης ἐξανήγετο· καὶ μετεωρισθεὶς ἐν τῷ πελάγει ὡς  
ἑώρα τὰς ναὺς πολλὰς τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς Χίου, φυγὴν ἐποιεῖτο ἐπὶ τῆς  
3 Σάμου· αἱ δ' ἐδίωκον. τὸν δὲ πεζὸν οἱ Τήιοι τὸ πρῶτον οὐκ  
ἐσδεχόμενοι, ὡς ἔφυγον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐσηγάγοντο. καὶ ἐπέσχον 5  
μὲν οἱ πεζοί, καὶ Χαλκιδέα ἐκ τῆς διώξεως περιμένοντες· ὡς δὲ  
ἐχρόνιζε, καθήρουν αὐτοὶ τε τὸ τεῖχος ὃ ἀνφοδομήσαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι  
τῆς Τηίων πόλεως τὸ πρὸς ἡπειρον, ξυγκαθήρουν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ  
τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπελθόντες οὐ πολλοί, ὧν ἦρχε Στάγης ὑπαρχος  
Τισσαφέρους. 10

XVII. Χαλκιδεὺς δὲ καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης ὡς κατεδίωξαν ἐς Σάμον  
Στρομβιχίδην, ἐκ μὲν τῶν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου νεῶν τοὺς ναύτας  
ὀπλίσαντες ἐν Χίῳ καταλιμπάνουσιν, ἀντιπληρώσαντες δὲ ταύτας  
τε ἐκ Χίου καὶ ἄλλας εἰκοσιν ἔπλεον ἐς Μίλητον ὡς ἀποστήσοντες.  
2 ἐβούλετο γὰρ ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης, ὧν ἐπιτήδειος τοῖς προεστῶσι τῶν 15  
Μιλησίων, φθάσαι τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ναὺς προσαγαγό-

1. ἄμα καὶ ὁ Κλαζ. AC etc. 2. προανήγετο AC etc. 6. πολλοὶ for πεζοὶ  
AC etc. 7. B alone gives τε after αὐτοὶ and τὸ in following line. 16. τὰς τε  
ἀπὸ AC etc.

2. μετεωρισθεὶς ἐν τῷ πελάγει] ἐν τῷ  
πελάγει is apparently put in for emphasis  
because, instead of going across the Sinus  
Caystrius to Samos, Strombichides went  
out of his way into the open sea to meet  
the Lacedaemonians. μετεωρισθεὶς alone  
might have been applied to crossing the  
mouth of the Sin. Caystrius.—πολλὰς:  
predicative, and emphatic. He had gone  
to meet them but found them 'over  
many'.

6. καὶ Χαλκιδέα] 'waiting till Chal-  
cideus joined them (καὶ)'. Stahl's expla-  
nation seems right, viz. that καὶ Χαλκιδέα  
περιμένοντες=καὶ Χαλκιδέα εἰσεὶν βουλό-  
μενοι (i.e. Chalcideus as well as them-  
selves). cp. c. 20, 2 καὶ Τισσαφέρους  
αὐτὸς παραγενόμενος.

8. τῆς Τηίων πόλεως τὸ πρὸς ἡπει-  
ρον] on the land side of the city of Teos.  
τὸ πρὸς ἡπειρον is used adverbially and  
governs τῆς Τ. πόλεως.—ὑπαρχος: the  
term is applied to any lieutenant of a  
satrap, generally the governor of a parti-

cular district. cp. c. 31, 2. 87, 1. 108, 4.

12. τῶν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου νεῶν] the  
five they had brought over in c. 12, 3.  
These sailors were left as a Lacedaemo-  
nian garrison to secure Chios.

13. ἀντιπληρώσαντες δὲ ταύτας]  
'manning them with substitutes from  
Chios' (with ἄλλας we must supply only  
πληρώσαντες). In the other two places  
where ἀντιπληροῦν occurs in Thuc. (vii,  
22, 2. 69, 1) it has the more natural sense  
of 'manning ships against the enemy'.  
But the same force of ἀντί in composition  
is seen in ἀντονομάζειν vi, 4, 6, and other  
compounds.

15. τοῖς προεστῶσι τῶν Μιλησίων]  
It is to be remembered that the Mile-  
sians, Samians, and Chians, all sent con-  
tingents to Sicily (vii, 57, 4). The  
loss of these would both weaken the  
democratic party in these states, and  
cause individual ill-feeling against the  
Athenians.—τῷ ἀποστάλαντι Ἐνδίῳ:  
c. 6, 3 and c. 12.

- μενος αὐτοὺς καὶ τοῖς Χίοις καὶ ἑαυτῷ καὶ Χαλκιδεῖ καὶ τῷ ἀποστείλαντι Ἐνδίῳ, ὥσπερ ὑπέσχετο, τὸ ἀγώνισμα προσθεῖναι, ὅτι πλείστας τῶν πόλεων μετὰ τῆς Χίων δυνάμεως καὶ Χαλκιδέως ἀποστήσας. λαθόντες οὖν τὸ πλείστον τοῦ πλοῦ καὶ φθάσαντες 3 οὐ πολλὸν τὸν τε Στρομβιχίδην καὶ τὸν Θρασυκλέα, ὃς ἔτυχεν ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν δώδεκα ναυσὶν ἄρτι παρῶν καὶ ξυνδιώκων, ἀφιστᾶσι τὴν Μίλητον. καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ πόδας μιᾶς δεοῦσαις εἴκοσι ναυσὶν ἐπιπλεύσαντες, ὡς αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἐδέχοντο οἱ Μιλήσιοι, ἐν Λάδῃ τῇ ἐπικειμένῃ νήσῳ ἐφώρμουν.
- 10 Καὶ ἡ πρὸς βασιλέα ξυμμαχία Λακεδαιμονίοις ἡ πρώτη 4 Μιλησίων εὐθὺς ἀποστάντων διὰ Τισσαφέρνους καὶ Χαλκιδέως ἐγένετο ἥδε.

- XVIII. "Ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ξυμμαχίαν ἐποίησαντο πρὸς βασιλέα καὶ Τισσαφέρνῃ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι. ὁπόσῃν χώραν καὶ 15 πόλεις βασιλεὺς ἔχει καὶ οἱ πατέρες οἱ βασιλέως εἶχον, βασιλέως ἔστω· καὶ ἐκ τούτων τῶν πόλεων ὅποσα Ἀθηναίοις ἐφόλτα χρήματα

7. δεοῦσαις GM (cp. c. 6, 5).

12. ἐγγένητο B.

2. προσθεῖναι] used both of good things, e.g. τιμὴν, iii, 42, 5, χάριν, iv, 20, 2; and of bad, e.g. ἡ αἰτία, iii, 39, 6. —μετὰ τῆς Χίων δυνάμεως: 'assisted only by the Chians'. For μετὰ, 'in conjunction with', cp. i, 126, 12. iii, 109, 2; and for the opposite, ἀνευ, v. c. 5, 3, and note.

6. ξυνδιώκων] Strombichides with 8 ships after being chased back to Samos by Alcibiades (c. 17, init.) had been reinforced by Thrasyclus with 12 ships, and both together had started in pursuit. So they were actually looking about for Alcibiades and Chalcideus (ἔτυχε ξυνδιώκων) when the latter set out for Miletus.

7. κατὰ πόδας] 'close behind them'. cp. v, 64, 3 λέγειν κατὰ πόδας αὐτῶν ἐς Τεγέαν. As κατὰ πόδας means 'close behind', ἐν ποσὶν means 'close in front'; cp. iii, 97, 1 τὴν ἐν ποσὶν (γῆν) δεῖ πειρᾶσθαι αἰρεῖν.—μιᾶς δεοῦσαις εἴκοσι: one had apparently been left at Samos, and reappears in c. 24, 1. Such details imply information at first hand.

8. ἐν Λάδῃ] Scene of the Persian

victory over the combined Ionian fleet in 494, B.C. The deposits of the Meander have now connected it with the mainland.

13. ξυμμαχίαν] As to this treaty v. Grote vol. vii, p. 518 ff. (Pt. ii, c. lxi).

(1) It makes the Persian king master not only of the Asiatic Greeks and the Aegean islands, but also of Thessaly and Boeotia, which Xerxes once held. (cp. also c. 44.)

(2) It binds the Lacedaemonians to help the king to keep all this power.

(3) It says nothing of the Persians providing supplies and payment for the fleet, though that was the chief advantage to the Lacedaemonians of a Persian alliance.

It can only be accounted for by considering (1) that in the present state of the war it could not possibly be carried into effect, (2) that the Lacedaemonians thought Miletus could not be held without the aid of Tissaphernes.

16. ἐφόλτα] Not used elsewhere by Thuc. of revenues, but occurring frequently in this connexion in Herod.

ἢ ἄλλο τι, κωλύοντων κοινῇ βασιλεὺς καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ  
 ξύμμαχοι ὅπως μήτε χρήματα λαμβάνωσιν Ἀθηναῖοι μήτε ἄλλο  
 2 μηδέν. καὶ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους κοινῇ πολεμοῦντων  
 βασιλεὺς καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι· καὶ κατὰλυσιν τοῦ  
 πολέμου πρὸς Ἀθηναίους μὴ ἐξέστω ποιεῖσθαι, ἣν μὴ ἀμφοτέροις 5  
 3 δοκῇ, βασιλεῖ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τοῖς ξυμμάχοις. ἦν δέ τινες  
 ἀφιστῶνται ἀπὸ βασιλέως, πολέμοι ἔστων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ  
 τοῖς ξυμμάχοις. καὶ ἦν τινες ἀφιστῶνται ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ  
 τῶν ξυμμάχων, πολέμοι ἔστων βασιλεῖ κατὰ ταῦτά.”

XIX. Ἡ μὲν ξυμμαχία αὕτη ἐγένετο. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο οἱ Χῖοι 10  
 εὐθὺς δέκα ἐτέρας πληρώσαντες ναὺς ἔπλευσαν ἐς Ἀναία, βουλό-  
 μενοι περὶ τε τῶν ἐν Μιλήτῳ πυθέσθαι καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἅμα  
 2 ἀφιστάναι. καὶ ἐλθούσης παρὰ Χαλκιδέως ἀγγελίας αὐτοῖς  
 ἀποπλεῖν πάλιν καὶ ὅτι Ἀμόργης παρέσται κατὰ γῆν στρατιᾷ,  
 ἔπλευσαν ἐς Διὸς ἱερόν· καὶ καθορῶσιν ἐκκαίδεκα ναῦς, ἃς ὕστερον 15  
 3 ἔτι Θρασυκλέους Διομέδων ἔχων ἀπ’ Ἀθηνῶν προσέπλει. καὶ  
 ὡς εἶδον, ἔφευγον μιᾷ μὲν νηὶ ἐς Ἐφεσον, αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ ἐπὶ τῆς  
 Τέω. καὶ τέσσαρας μὲν κενὰς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι λαμβάνουσι, τῶν  
 ἀνδρῶν ἐς τὴν γῆν φθασάντων· αἱ δ’ ἄλλαι ἐς τὴν Τηλίων πόλιν  
 4 καταφεύγουσι. καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ τῆς Σάμου ἀπέπλευσαν, 20

9. ταῦτα all except C. (B joins κατὰ ταῦτα with the following sentence.)

(iii, 115, ἤλεκτρον. v, 17, τέλατον ἀργυρίου. vii, 23, σίτος).—ἄλλο τι: this may mean ships and men, but very probably corn from the Hellespont.

oc. 19—23. Diomedon arriving with 16 fresh ships from Athens defeats the Chians. The Peloponnesian squadron blockaded in Peiraeum breaks out, and prepares to sail for Ionia. **Samos**:—popular revolution, which secures the island to the Athenians. **Lesbos**:—The Chians induce Methymna and Mytilene to revolt from Athens.

11. δέκα ἐτέρας] They had already manned 20; v. c. 17, 1. Anaea is on the Sinus Caystrius due E. of Samos.—τῶν ἐν Μιλήτῳ: τῶν is neuter; cp. c. 2, 1 εἰ τὰ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ κατώρθωσαν. c. 23, 5 & 6 τὰ ἐν τῇ Λέσβῳ.—τὰς πόλεις: i.e. the Ath. subjects in Asia; cp. c. 17, 2. c. 45, 5.

13. ἀγγελίας ἀποπλεῖν πάλιν] I can

find no other instance of ἀγγελία followed by an infin. in Thuc., but ἀγγέλλειν is so used in iv, 8, 3 ἀγγεῖλαι Εὐρυμέδοντι... παρῆναι. There is a strong temptation to cut out the καὶ and make ὅτι causal. Valla apparently does so (*‘quoniam Amorges adfuturus esset’*), but it is always difficult to be sure what reading he had. For Amorges v. c. 5, 5, and note.

15. Διὸς ἱερόν] between Lebedus and Colophon. Temples, like monasteries in England, may often have formed a nucleus round which a town grew up. There was a more famous Διὸς ἱερόν near the mouth of the Bosphorus.

ὕστερον ἔτι Θρασυκλέους] *‘still later’*, because it was the second reinforcement, Thrasycles himself having come as a reinforcement to Strombichides; v. c. 17, 3.



οἱ δὲ Χίοι ταῖς λοιπαῖς ναυσὶν ἀναγαγόμενοι καὶ ὁ πεζὸς μετ' αὐτῶν Λέβεδον ἀπέστησαν καὶ αὖθις Ἐράς. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἕκαστοι ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπεκομίσθησαν, καὶ ὁ πεζὸς καὶ αἱ νῆες.

XX. Ὑπὸ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους αἱ ἐν τῇ Πειραιῷ εἰκοσι 5 νῆες τῶν Πελοποννησίων, καταδιωχθεῖσαι τότε καὶ ἐφορμούμεναι Ἰσφ ἀριθμῷ ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, ἐπέκπλουν ποιησάμεναι αἰφνίδιον καὶ κρατήσασαι ναυμαχίᾳ τέσσαράς τε ναὺς λαμβάνουσι τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἀποπλεύσασαι ἐς Κεγχρεῖας τὸν ἐς τὴν Χίον καὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν πλοῦν αὖθις παρεσκευάζοντο. καὶ ναύαρχος αὐτοῖς ἐκ Λακεδαί- 10 μονος Ἀστυόχος ἐπήλθεν, ὥπερ ἐγένετο ἡδὴ πᾶσα ἡ ναυαρχία.

Ἀναχωρήσαντος δὲ τοῦ ἐκ τῆς Τέω πεζοῦ καὶ Τισσαφέρνῃς 2 αὐτὸς στρατιᾷ παραγεγνημένος καὶ ἐπικαθελὼν τὸ ἐν τῇ Τέῳ τεῖχος, εἴ τι ὑπελείφθη, ἀνεχώρησε. καὶ Διομέδων, ἀπελθόντος αὐτοῦ, οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον δέκα ναυσὶν Ἀθηναίων ἀφικόμενος ἐσπέισατο Τηίοις 15 ὥστε δέχεσθαι καὶ σφᾶς. καὶ παραπλεύσας ἐπὶ Ἐράς καὶ προσβαλὼν, ὥς οὐκ ἐλάβανε τὴν πόλιν, ἀπέπλευσεν.

XXI. Ἐγένετο δὲ κατὰ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον καὶ ἡ ἐν Σάμῳ ἐπανάστασις ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῖς δυνατοῖς μετὰ Ἀθηναίων, οἱ

18. F omits ὑπὸ.

1. ὁ πεζὸς μετ' αὐτῶν] The land force from Clazomenae and Erythrae, which had been all this time at Teos (c. 16, 1 ff.). They probably marched overland to Lebedos, which would be more direct than going on board the ships. μετ' αὐτῶν means 'in concert with them'; cp. c. 17, 2, and note. Erae is said to have been a fort of the Teians on the road to Erythrae. The land force might therefore take it on the way home. For αὖθις (*porro*) cp. c. 14, 2, and note.

10. πᾶσα ἡ ναυαρχία] for the ναυαρχία v. note to c. 6, 5. Melanchridas had hitherto been ναύαρχος, and now his year was running out. No doubt the ναύαρχος (like the Ephors) entered upon his office at the beginning of the Spartan year, i.e. on the first new moon after the autumnal equinox (Sept. 23). But it can hardly be later than the middle of Sept. yet.

11. καὶ Τισσαφέρνῃς] Tissaphernes besides the others mentioned in c. 16, 3. v. note *ad loc.*

15. ὥστε δέχεσθαι καὶ σφᾶς] i.e. to be neutrals; cp. ii, 72, 1 δέχεσθε δὲ ἀμφοτέρους φίλους. For σπένδουσαι ὥστε cp. vi, 7, 1. The object of a truce (after σπένδουσαι) is also expressed by the infin. alone (v, 43, 3), or by a substantive in the acc. (iii, 24, 3 ἀναίρεσιν τοῖς νεκροῖς. 109, 2 ἀναχώρησιν).

17. ἡ ἐν Σάμῳ ἐπανάστασις] 'The revolution'. It was important because it secured Samos to the Athenians. Although since the revolt of 440—39 B.C. Samos had been unfortified and deprived of its fleet, it had apparently retained its oligarchical government.

18. ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου] Stahl, Boehme, and others, propose to omit ὑπὸ, arguing that the phrase ἡ ἐπανάστασις ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου is impossible. Classen quotes in its support ἀξίωμα ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου ἀνδρὸς ἀρχή, &c., but it is fairly objected that these phrases are not parallel because in them the verbal subs. has a passive force (e.g. ἀρχή ὑπό=τὸ

ἔτυχον ἐν τρισὶ ναυσὶ παρόντες. καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Σαμίων ἐς διακοσίους μὲν τινὰς τοὺς πάντας τῶν δυνατῶν ἀπέκτεινε, τετρακοσίους δὲ φυγῇ ζημιώσαντες καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν καὶ οἰκίας νειμάμενοι, Ἀθηναίων τε σφίσιν αὐτονομίαν μετὰ ταῦτα ὡς βεβαίοις ἤδη ψηφισαμένων, τὰ λοιπὰ διώκουν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τοῖς γεωμόροις 5

2. *δυνατωτάτων* B and Valla. But, as Stahl objects, the numbers (600 killed and banished) are too large for the superlative.

3. *νειμάμενοι κατεῖχον* B.

*ἀρχεσθαι* ὑπό...). So much is certainly true; but the passive force required, though not found in *ἐπανάστασις*, is found in *ἐπανάστασις ἐγένετο*. *γίνεσθαι* is regularly used by Thuc. as the passive of *ποιεῖσθαι* (middle). We have *τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ποιῆσαι* i, 70, 7, to compare with *αἱ ἐπιχειρήσεις γίνονται* ii, 11, 4, and numerous other such pairs of phrases. There are in all only twelve instances of *ποιῆσθαι* in a passive sense in Thuc. Of these six are the neuter of the participle, 'things done' (ii, 5, 5-iii, 77, 2. vi, 87, 3. viii, 43, 3. 46, 5. 69, 2), in three the word is used of games being 'celebrated' (ii, 15, 4. iii, 104, 3. vi, 28, 1), and the remaining three are ii, 34, 8. *ib.* 56, 2. iv, 31, 2, in all of which *γίνεσθαι* would be inappropriate. Let us assume therefore that Thuc. wished to put passively the sentence *τὴν ἐν Σάμῳ ἐπανάστασιν ὁ δῆμος ἐποιεῖτο τοῖς δυνατοῖς* (which is in all respects like a sentence actually occurring in vi, 10, 2 *τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ἡμῶν οἱ ἐχθροὶ ποιῶσιν*). It is clear that he could hardly fail to write the actual words in the text.—*τοῖς δυνατοῖς* is governed by *ἐπανάστασις*, the verbal subs. retaining the power of its verb to govern an indirect object; cp. vi, 76, 4 *σφίσιν ἄλλα μὴ ἐκείνῳ καταδουλώσας*.

1. *ἐς διακοσίους μὲν τινὰς τοὺς πάντας*] Cp. i, 100, 1 *τρίῃς—τὰς πάσας ἐς διακοσίας*. *τις* is constantly added to numbers to imply that they are round numbers, not necessarily exact; cp. vii, 87, 3. So *ἐνιαυτὸν μὲν τινα*, iii, 68, 3, means 'about a year'. But *τινα μίαν νύκτα*, vi, 61, 2, can hardly mean more

than 'one (indefinite) night'.—*ἀπέκτεινε*: *i.e.* 'had executed' in a more or less judicial fashion, as is shown by the contrast with *φυγῇ ζημιώσαντες*. For this sense of *ἀποκτείνειν* cp. vi, 29, 2. 61, 4.

3. *νειμάμενοι*] Classen accepts B's reading of *κατεῖχον* after *νειμάμενοι*, taking it in the intransitive sense of iv, 32, 2. *κατεῖχον* appears to me to be a gloss, intended to govern *γῆν* and *οἰκίας*, which does not really improve the sense. For the participle coupled with a gen. abs. Stahl compares i, 65, 1 *Ἀριστέως δὲ ἀποτειχισθείσης αὐτῆς καὶ ἐλπὶδα οὐδεμίαν ἔχων σωτηρίας*.

4. *αὐτονομίαν ψηφισαμένων*] *i.e.* restoring the privileges, immunity from tribute, independent government, and right of maintaining fleet and fortifications, which, in common with Chios and Lesbos, Samos had enjoyed before the revolt of 440 B.C. Fragments of this decree have been discovered on the acropolis, *v. C. I. A.* 56.

5. *τὰ λοιπὰ*] The plural does not occur elsewhere in Thuc. in a temporal sense. He uses either *τὸ λοιπὸν* or, less frequently, *τοῦ λοιποῦ*. But cp. Aesch. *Theb.* 66, Soph. *El.* 1226.

*τοῖς γεωμόροις*] The class of landed proprietors, who in Samos, as at Syracuse (Herod. vii, 155), had kept the political power in their hands. The *γεωμόροι* at Athens were inferior to the *εὐπατρίδαι* (the aristocracy of birth), but it is natural that in colonies this last class should have been wanting, and the original landowners should have formed the aristocracy.

μετεδίδοσαν οὔτε ἄλλου οὐδενός, οὔτε ἐκδοῦναι οὐδ' ἀγαγέσθαι παρ' ἐκείνων οὐδ' ἐς ἐκείνους οὐδενὶ ἔτι τοῦ δήμου ἐξήν.

XXII. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέρους οἱ Χίοι, ὥσπερ ἤρξαντο, οὐδὲν ἀπολείποντες προθυμίας ἄνευ τε Πελοποννησίων 5 πλήθει παρόντες ἀποστήσαι τὰς πόλεις καὶ βουλόμενοι ἅμα ὡς πλείστους σφίσι ξυγκινδυνεύειν, στρατεύονται αὐτοὶ τε τρισκαίδεκα ναυσὶν ἐπὶ τὴν Λέσβον, ὥσπερ εἶρητο ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων δεύτερον ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἵνα καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλησποντον, καὶ 10 ὁ πεζὸς ἅμα Πελοποννησίων τε τῶν παρόντων καὶ τῶν αὐτόθεν ξυμμάχων παρῇ ἐπὶ Κλαζομενῶν τε καὶ Κύμης· ἦρχε δ' αὐτοῦ Εὐάλας Σπαρτιάτης, τῶν δὲ νεῶν Δεινιάδας περίοικος. καὶ αἱ 2 μὲν νῆες καταπλεύσασαι Μήθυμναν πρῶτον ἀφιστάσι, καὶ καταλείπονται τέσσαρες νῆες ἐν αὐτῇ· καὶ αὖθις αἱ λοιπαὶ Μυτιλήνην ἀφιστᾶσιν.

12. καὶ καταλείπονται...ἀφιστᾶσιν occurs only in B and Valla (the words are clearly genuine, the omission being due to the repetition of ἀφιστᾶσι).

1. ἐκδοῦναι οὐδ' ἀγαγέσθαι] ἐς ἐκείνους which belongs to ἐκδοῦναι is put last by chiasmus. Plato frequently has ἐκδοῦναι in the sense of 'giving in marriage' without an expressed object, but instead of ἀγεσθαι (where no object is expressed) he generally uses γαμεῖν. cp. *Rep.* x, 613, D γαμοῦσί τε ὁπότεν ἂν βούλωνται, ἐκιδδᾶσί τε εἰς οὓς ἂν ἐθέλωσι. ἀγεσθαι is not freely used in this sense without γυναῖκα. This restriction of the *ius coniubii* is likely, as Arnold suggests, to have been in retaliation for a similar measure enforced when the γεωμόροι were in power.

3. ὥσπερ ἤρξαντο] ὥσπερ here does not mean simply 'as', nor is the phrase exactly parallel to ὥσπερ διενότηθησαν and the like. There are many passages in which ὥσπερ gives a much looser connexion, partly causal, between two facts, e.g. vii, 80, 4 τὸ μὲν Νικίου στρατεύμα, ὥσπερ ἡγεῖτο, ξυνέμενε κ.τ.λ. 'Nicias' force, forming as it did the advance guard, kept together'; cp. also vii, 31, 5. Similarly in the present passage ὥσπερ ἤρξαντο

implies 'once committed to this course they...'.—οὐδὲν ἀπολείποντες προθυμίας: Plato has the same phrase *Rep.* vii, 533, A. *Symp.* 210, A. Classen regards οὐδὲν as a strong negative, and προθυμίας as governed directly by ἀπολείποντες; and this I think is right in spite of Stahl's objections. cp. Plato, *Rep.* x, 602, D.—ἀποστήσαι depends on προθυμίας.

7. ὥσπερ εἶρητο] v. c. 8, 2. Their failure at Lesbos prevented their going on to the Hellespont as intended.

9. ὁ πεζὸς ἅμα Πελοποννησίων] i.e. the crews of the five Lac. ships armed and left at Chios by Alcibiades and Chalcideus, c. 17, 1. The αὐτόθεν ξυμμαχοὶ would be the troops from Erythrae and Clazomenae, c. 16, 1. The land route from Erythrae to the Hellespont lay through Clazomenae and Cumae, and the troops are all said to take this road although some of them would no doubt start from Clazomenae. Here and c. 6, 4, are the only two places where Thuc. specially notices a περίοικος being put in a position of trust.

XXIII. Ἀστύοχος δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ναύαρχος τέσσαρσι ναυσίν, ὥσπερ ὥρμητο, πλέων ἐκ τῶν Κεγχρεῶν ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Χίον. καὶ τρίτην ἡμέραν αὐτοῦ ἤκοντος αἱ Ἀττικαὶ νῆες πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι ἐπλεον ἐς Λέσβον, ὧν ἤρχε Λέων καὶ Διομέδων· Λέων 2 γὰρ ὕστερον δέκα ναυσὶ προσεβοήθησεν ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηναίων. ἀναγα- γόμενος δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀστύοχος τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐς ὄψε, καὶ προσλαβὼν Χίαν ναὺν μίαν, ἐπλεῖ ἐς τὴν Λέσβον, ὅπως ὠφελοίη, εἴ τι δύναιτο. καὶ ἀφικνεῖται ἐς τὴν Πύρραν, ἐκείθεν δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐς Ἑρεσον· 3 ἔνθα πυνθάνεται ὅτι ἡ Μυτιλήνη ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων αὐτοβοεῖ 10 3 ἐάλωκεν· οἱ γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὥσπερ ἐπλεον, ἀπροσδόκητοι κατα-

2. M has ἀφικνεῖται ἐσέπλεον ἐς Λέσβον, omitting Χίον...εἴκοσι inclusive.  
10. ἐάλω. B.

cc. 25—26. Astyochus arrives as admiral to take command of the Peloponnesian fleet in Asia. The Athenians recover Lesbos and Clazomenae, and make a descent upon the coast near Miletus, in resisting which Chalcideus is killed. They next attack Chios, drive the Chians into their fortifications, and ravage the whole island. Thus encouraged the Athenians again land near Miletus, defeat the Milesians in a general battle, and prepare to besiege their city.

2. ὥσπερ ὥρμητο] c. 20, 1. He had been sent to take the command of the 20 Peloponnesian ships which had escaped the blockade at Peiraeum and were refitting at Cenchrae for the voyage to Asia. Why only four came is not explained. Six more follow in § 5.

3. τρίτην ἡμέραν αὐτοῦ ἤκοντος] 'when he had been there two days'. The construction generally occurs with a perfect, which (like ἤκει here) expresses a state or condition, not a single action. cp. Xen. *Anab.* iv, 5, 24 ἐνάντην ἡμέραν γεγαμημένην. Aeschines *Ctes.* 77. Plato *Prot.* 309, D τί λέγεις; Πρωταγόρας ἐπιδεδήμηκε; ΣΩ. τρίτην γε ἦδη ἡμέραν. It seems clear therefore that the acc. in such cases gives *duration* of time, not merely a point of time at a certain distance, though Xenophon does use it in this latter sense, *Hell.* ii, 4, 13 οὗς

ἡμέραν πέμπτην τρεψάμενοι ἐδιώξατε. This may, I think, be considered abnormal; but Xen. *Cyr.* vi, 3, 11 καὶ ἐχθὲς δὲ καὶ τρίτην ἡμέραν τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐπραττον, is a step in the same direction.

6. ἐς ὄψε] I doubt if any clear instances can be quoted to support the sense 'towards evening'. ἐς seems to give the idea of coincidence, designed or otherwise, as in c. 94, 2 καὶ ἐς δέον παραγένετο. So that we might almost translate ἀναγαγόμενος ἐς ὄψε, 'timing his start for the evening'; cp. c. 67, 1 ἐσενεγκεῖν ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐς ἡμέραν ῥητήν, Xen. *Cyr.* v, 3, 27 εἰς τρίτην δειπνήσω ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ. The phrase does not occur elsewhere in Thuc. unless it be the right reading in iii, 108, 3 ἡ μάχη ἐτελεύτα ἐς (vulg. ἔως) ὄψε. But τελευτᾶν ἐς is common (i, 51, 3. iii, 78, 4) and the notion involved (continuing up to, and ending at) makes it hardly a fair parallel to the present passage.

8. Πύρραν] Pyrrha is on the bay (Euripus Pyrrhaeus) which runs up from the S.W. coast of Lesbos into the centre of the island, affording safe anchorage for any number of ships. Eresus and Antissa are on the N.W. corner of Lesbos.

10. ὥσπερ ἐπλεον] ὥσπερ εἶχον is the more usual expression. cp. c. 42, 1 ὥσπερ εἶχε, ...πρὶν ἐκπυστος γενέσθαι. The same words occur in iii, 30, 1.

σχόντες ἐς τὸν λιμένα τῶν τε Χίων νεῶν ἐκράτησαν καὶ ἀποβάντες  
 τοὺς ἀντιστάντας μάχῃ νικήσαντες τὴν πόλιν ἔσχον. ἂ πυνθανό- 4  
 μενος ὁ Ἀστύοχος τῶν τε Ἑρεσίων καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Μηθύμνης μετ'  
 Εὐβούλου Χίων νεῶν, αἱ τότε καταλειφθεῖσαι καὶ ὡς ἡ Μυτιλήνη  
 5 ἐάλω φεύγουσαι περιέτυχον αὐτῷ τρεῖς (μία γὰρ ἐάλω ὑπὸ τῶν  
 Ἀθηναίων), οὐκέτι ἐπὶ τὴν Μυτιλήνην ὥρμησεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν Ἑρεσον  
 ἀποστήσας καὶ ὀπλίσας, καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ νεῶν ὀπλίτας  
 πεζῇ παραπέμπει ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντισσαν καὶ Μήθυμναν, ἄρχοντα  
 Ἑτεόνικον προστάξας, καὶ αὐτὸς ταῖς τε μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ναυσὶ καὶ ταῖς  
 10 τρισὶ ταῖς Χίαις παρέπλει, ἐλπίζων τοὺς Μηθυμναίους θαρσέσειν  
 τε ἰδόντας σφᾶς καὶ ἔμμενείν τῇ ἀποστάσει. ὡς δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ ἐν 5  
 τῇ Λέσβῳ πάντα ἡναντιοῦτο, ἀπέπλευσε τὸν ἑαυτοῦ στρατὸν  
 πεζὸν ἀναλαβὼν ἐς τὴν Χίον. ἀπεκομίσθη δὲ πάλιν κατὰ πόλεις  
 καὶ ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν ἱεῶν † πεζός, ὃς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐμέλλησεν

8. παρέπλει for παραπέμπει AC etc. (cp. similar substitution of ἀμύνεσθαι for ἀφελέσθαι c. 76, 4). After ταῖς τρισὶ ταῖς Χίαις παρέπλει ACEFG add ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντισσαν καὶ Μήθυμναν, and M by omitting ἄρχοντα...παρέπλει shows that the ms. from which it was copied had the same reading (the omission being due to the scribe's eye catching the wrong Μήθυμναν). But it is clearly an interpolation.

1. τῶν Χίων νεῶν ἐκράτησαν] 'took possession of', not 'defeated'. cp. iv, 14, 5 (ναυαγίων). 108, 1 (τῆς γεφύρας). The Chian ships would probably not be manned. There were 9 of them; cp. c. 22, 2.

3. τῶν τε Ἑρεσίων] 'hearing from the Eresians'; cp. ii, 57, 1.—τότε: c. 22, 2.

7. καὶ ὀπλίσας] Arnold compares iii, 27, 2, where Salaethus the Lacedaemonian arms the δῆμος of Mitylene 'πρότερον ψιλὸν ὄντα'.—καὶ τοὺς ὀπλίτας παραπέμπει answers to καὶ αὐτὸς...παρέπλει. Though B alone preserves παραπέμπει it is doubtless right, and the repetition of ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντισσαν καὶ Μήθυμναν after παρέπλει (v. crit. note), is probably only a consequence of the other mistake. It is possible however that παραπέμπει should stand by itself, and that ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντ. κ.τ.λ. originally occurred only after παρέπλει in l. 10.

14. ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν πεζός] Whatever doubt there may be about this phrase,

the facts are clear enough. Astyochus goes off first, taking with him τὸν ἑαυτοῦ στρατὸν, i.e. τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ νεῶν ὀπλίτας, whom he has sent against Antissa and Methymna in § 4. Then, we are told, 'the other force (ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν πεζός), destined for the Hellespont, went home to their several cities'. This is beyond doubt the force mentioned in c. 22, 1 ὁ πεζὸς Πελοποννησίων τε τῶν παρόντων καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ξυμμάχων, which took the route by Clazomenae and Cumae, with the Hellespont (if the text is right) for their ultimate destination. Can these conceivably be called ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν πεζός? Arnold thinks they can, 'because it is clearly assumed that they had been carried over to Lesbos to cooperate with the fleet there, and now were again carried back to the mainland'. As to this it seems to me (1) that it is nowhere assumed, or even implied, (2) that if they had been there we ought to have heard something about them when the Athe-

ίεναι. καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Κεγχρεΐᾳ ξυμμαχίδων Πελοποννησίων νεῶν ἀφικνούνται αὐτοῖς ἕξ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς τὴν Χίον. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ τε ἐν τῇ Λέσβῳ πάλιν κατεστήσαντο καὶ πλεύσαντες ἕξ αὐτῆς Κλαζομενίων τὴν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ Πολίχναν τειχιζομένην ἐλόντες διεκόμισαν πάλιν αὐτοὺς ἐς τὴν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ πόλιν πλὴν 5 τῶν αἰτίων τῆς ἀποστάσεως· οὗτοι δὲ ἐς Δαφνούντα ἀπήλθον. καὶ αὖθις Κλαζομεναὶ προσεχώρησαν Ἀθηναίοις.

XXIV. Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους οἱ τ' ἐπὶ Μιλήτῳ Ἀθηναῖοι ταῖς εἴκοσι ναυσὶν ἐν τῇ Λάδῃ ἐφορμοῦντες ἀπόβασιν ποιησάμενοι ἐς Πάνορμον τῆς Μιλησίας Χαλκιδέα τε τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον ἄρχοντα 10 μετ' ὀλίγων παραβοηθήσαντα ἀποκτείνουσι καὶ τροπαῖον τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ὕστερον διαπλεύσαντες ἔστησαν, ὃ οἱ Μιλήσιοι ὡς οὐ μετὰ

nians occupied Mytilene, (3) that if we suppose they were taken over in the Chian ships, we have to explain how they got back again, as all the ships but 3 were captured by the Athenians. Classen's explanation that ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν πεζός is applied to the whole force because a considerable part of them consisted of sailors who had been armed by Chalcideus and Alcibiades (c. 17; 1), is even stranger. We have had nothing to remind us of this fact since c. 17; the words κατὰ πόλεις are utterly inconsistent with it (Cl. accordingly brackets them); and the force in question appears to be contrasted with the detachment from Astyochus' ships which on this showing it would much resemble. The only other sense in which ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν πεζός could be appropriate would be if it could mean 'the force acting in concert with the ships'. But although the phrase frequently occurs elsewhere (ii, 69, 2. 102, i. iii, 90, 2. 94, i. v, 3, 2) there is no authority whatever for giving it this sense. Some change therefore is necessary. May not Thuc. have written ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων πεζός? πόλεις used absolutely in the sense of 'allied cities' is very common and is sometimes apparently contrasted with the Ath. or Lac. themselves. cp. vii, 27 ἡ Δεκέλεια τὸ πρῶτον ὑπὸ πάσης τῆς στρατιᾶς τειχισθεῖσα, ὕστερον δὲ φρουραῖς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων

κατὰ διαδοχὴν χρόνου ἐπιούσαις ἐπικέϊτο. iv, 74, i Βρασίδα αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων ἄρχουσιν. cp. also viii, 17, 2. 45, 5. This gives at all events some point to κατὰ πόλεις, and is better than cutting the disputed words out. The only justification for the latter course would be to suppose they were a gloss upon τὸν ἑαυτοῦ στρατὸν above, which is pure conjecture.

1. ξυμμαχίδων Πελοποννησίων νεῶν] Classen brackets ξυμμαχίδων, but though suspicious it is by no means impossible. Πελοποννησίων is the possessive gen., not an adj. agreeing with νεῶν; cp. i, 105, i. iii, 32, 3. 36, 2. 76, i. iv, 2, 3. viii, 13, i. 31, 1. Though νῆες ξυμμαχίδες does not occur elsewhere in Thucydides, Xenophon uses the phrase, *Hell.* i, 6, 29. cp. also νῆες προφυλακίδες (Thuc. i, 117, 1), στρατηγίδες (ii, 84, 3), στρατιώτιδες (vi, 43, 1).

3. πάλιν κατεστήσαντο] 'restored'. πάλιν goes closely with the verb, as in the case of πάλιν πέμπειν (v, 21, 3) 'to send back'. cp. also iii, 35, 2 καθίστατο ἢ...αὐτῷ ἐδόκει.—Πολίχναν: cp. c. 14, 3, and note.

12. οὐ μετὰ κράτους τῆς γῆς] cp. iv, 98, 2 ὡν ἂν ἦ τὸ κράτος τῆς γῆς ἐκάστης... τούτων καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ αἰεὶ γίνεσθαι. The importance attached to asking for a truce to recover the dead was due to the fact

κράτους τῆς γῆς σταθὲν ἀνεῖλον· καὶ Λέων καὶ Διομέδων ἔχοντες 2  
τὰς ἐκ τῆς Λέσβου Ἀθηναίων ναῦς, ἐκ τε Οἰνουσσῶν τῶν πρὸ  
Χίου νήσων καὶ ἐκ Σιδουῦσσης καὶ ἐκ Πτελεοῦ, ἃ ἐν τῇ Ἐρυθραίᾳ  
εἶχον τεῖχη, [καὶ ἐκ τῆς Λέσβου] ὁρμώμενοι τὸν πρὸς τοὺς Χίους  
5 πόλεμον ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἐποιοῦντο· εἶχον δὲ ἐπιβάτας τῶν ὀπλιτῶν  
ἐκ καταλόγου ἀναγκαστούς. καὶ ἐν τε Καρδαμύλῃ ἀποβάντες 3  
καὶ ἐν Βολίσκῳ τοὺς προσβοηθήσαντας τῶν Χίων μάχῃ νικήσαντες  
καὶ πολλοὺς διαφθείραντες ἀνάστατα ἐποίησαν τὰ ταῦτη χωρία,  
καὶ ἐν Φάναις αὖθις ἄλλη μάχῃ ἐνίκησαν καὶ τρίτῃ ἐν Λευκονίῳ.

4. B adds ἀπῆραν after τεῖχη. v. note.

that it was regarded as an admission that the enemy had this κράτος τῆς γῆς. cp. vii, 5, 3 καὶ νικηθέντων τῶν Συρακοσίων ...καὶ νεκρὸς ὑποσπίνδους ἀνελομένων καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων τροπαίων στησάντων κ.τ.λ.

4. καὶ ἐκ τῆς Λέσβου] These words can hardly be genuine. The Oenussae Ins. are just N.W. of Chios. Sidussa and Pteleum are close opposite upon the mainland. It is exceedingly improbable that so vague and distant a locality as Lesbos should be coupled with the precise and commanding positions already noticed. ἐκ τῆς Λέσβου may possibly have been added in the margin by some one who compared c. 34 *fin*. But Classen thinks that the reading of B which inserts ἀπῆραν after τεῖχη points to an explanatory note ἐκ τῆς Λέσβου ἀπῆραν καὶ, which afterwards became partly incorporated in the text.

5. ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν] cp. iv, 10, 4 καὶ οὐκ ἐν γῇ στρατὸς ἐστιν ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου μείζων, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ νεῶν... where Demosthenes at Pylos is encouraging his men to resist the Lac. attack from the sea.

ἐπιβάτας ἐκ καταλόγου] cp. vi, 43, from which we see that the epibatae were generally Thetes. The κατάλογος was a register kept by the taxiarch of each tribe in which the name of every Athenian was entered at the age of eighteen (when he became liable for service) together with a note of the date at which he became liable. His liability

ended at the age of 60.

6. ἐν Καρδαμύλῃ ἀποβάντες] Elsewhere Thuc. always has ἀποβαίνειν ἐς τινα τόπον, which leads Classen to take ἐν Καρδ. καὶ ἐν Βολίσκ. with νικήσαντες. But only one engagement is here referred to, as appears from καὶ αὖθις ἄλλη...καὶ τρίτῃ. Cardamyle and Boliscus being some distance apart, ἐν Καρδ. καὶ ἐν Βολίσκ. νικήσαντες would necessarily imply two engagements. We are therefore compelled to take ἐν Καρδαμύλῃ ἀποβάντες καὶ ἐν Βολίσκῳ together. cp. Xen. *Hell.* i, 3, 22. Somewhat similar uses of ἐν are τοὺς ἐν Ὀλπαις Ἀμπρακίωτας ἤκοντας (iii, 106, 1) and τὴν ἐν Πειραιῶ τῶν νεῶν καταφυγὴν (viii, 11, 3).

8. ἀνάστατα ἐποίησαν] 'They made the country desolate'. The connexion is not quite clear between the meaning of ἀνάστατος as applied to people 'compelled to migrate', 'driven out', and the meaning of the same word when it is applied to a country 'depopulated', 'desolate'. But one finds such phrases as χώρα ἀνεστηκία, Herod. v, 29, and ἡσυχάσασα ἡ Ἑλλάς καὶ οὐκέτι ἀνισταμένη Thuc. i, 12, 4. It would appear therefore that the real notion in such cases was χώρα ἀνεστηκία (or ἀνάστατος γενομένη) τοὺς ἐνοίκους. It would thus be parallel with such expressions as τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐκκεκομμένος.

9. Φάναις] The S. point of the island. Leuconium is about two-thirds

καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ μὲν Χίοι ἤδη οὐκέτι ἐπεξῆσαν, οἱ δὲ τὴν χώραν  
καλῶς κατεσκευασμένην καὶ ἀπαθῆ οὖσαν ἀπὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν  
4 μέχρι τότε διεπόρθησαν. Χίοι γὰρ μόνοι μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίους  
ὧν ἐγὼ ἡσθόμην ἡδαιμόνησάν τε ἅμα καὶ ἐσωφρόνησαν, καὶ ὅσφ  
ἐπεδίδου ἢ πόλις αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον, τόσφ καὶ ἐκοσμοῦντο 5  
5 ἐχυρώτερον. καὶ οὐδ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἀπόστασιν, εἰ τοῦτο δοκοῦσι  
παρὰ τὸ ἀσφαλέστερον πρᾶξαι, πρότερον ἐτόλμησαν ποιήσασθαι  
ἢ μετὰ πολλῶν τε κάγαθων ξυμμάχων ἐμελλόν ξυγκινδυνεύσειν καὶ

4. εὐδαιμονήσαντες ἅμα ACEGM. εὐδαιμονήσαντες F. 8. μεθ' ὧν ἐμελλον  
B. v. note. ξυγκινδυνεύειν B. κινδυνεύσειν AEFGM. κινδυνεύσειν C.

of the way down the west coast, nearly due W. of the town of Chios.

2. ἀπὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν] Probably Thuc. is thinking rather of the Ionian Revolt than of the actual invasion of Greece by Xerxes. The Chians were the heaviest sufferers in the great sea-fight off Lade in 496 B.C., and the whole island was devastated by the Persians in the following year. cp. Herod. vi, 31.

3. μόνοι μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίους] a compressed way of saying 'the only people except the Lac. though in a less degree than they'. μετὰ in this sense more often follows a superlative (Hom. *Il.* ii, 674, &c.), but cp. Thuc. ii, 97, 5 (βασιλεία) πολὺ δευτέρα μετὰ τὴν τῶν Σκυθῶν.

4. ἡδαιμόνησάν τε ἅμα] This reading (B, and Valla) is necessary for the sense, which is 'were at the same time both fortunate and prudent'. The *present* part. (εὐδαιμονοῦντες ἅμα) might have the required force (cp. i, 144, i. ii, 91, 2), but not the aorist. Stahl compares iii, 77, i. v, 10, 3. vi, 30, 2.

5. ἐπεδίδου ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον] ἐπιδιδόναι is used absolutely in this sense vi, 72, 4. vii, 8, 1, and with ἐς vi, 60, 2. viii, 83, 2, but not elsewhere in Thuc. (though often in Plato) with ἐπὶ.

ἐκοσμοῦντο ἐχυρώτερον] not 'adornabant res suas' (Stahl), which would give no appropriate sense to ἐχυρώτερον, but 'tutius administrabant res suas'. The phrase is clearly an amplification of

ἐσωφρόνησαν, and σωφροσύνη in states is keeping a safe policy and a steady constitution (generally oligarchical, because democracy is subject to extravagancies). cp. i, 32, 4. 84, 2. viii, 53, 3. 64, 5. κόσμος is several times used by Thuc. of the constitution, though κοσμεῖν is not: cp. iv, 76, 2. viii, 48, 4. 67, 3. 72, 2; and Herod. (i, 59) has ἐνεμε τὴν πόλιν κοσμέων καλῶς τε καὶ εὖ. The meaning therefore is 'every increase of strength made them only the more prudent in their administration'.

6. καὶ οὐδ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἀπόστασιν] 'and moreover in this very revolt' (as well as in all their previous conduct). καί... ἡσθάνοντο is included under the construction of οὐ πρότερον ἢ. Class. objects that in that case ἡσθάνοντο would be required, but cp. iii, 2, 1. B (followed by Cl.) has μεθ' ὧν after ξυμμάχων. But the construction πρότερον ἢ μετὰ πολλῶν ξυμμάχων needs support. It is certainly much harsher than Plato *Soph.* 264, B πρότερον ἢ κατὰ τὴν προσδοκίαν. Stahl also points out that they did revolt with the *assurance* of support (οὐ πρότερον ἢ ἐμελλον) but not actually *simultaneously* (οὐ πρότερον ἢ μετὰ) with any others, except Erythrae and Clazomenae. For ξυγκινδυνεύσειν μετὰ cp. ξυμπολεμεῖν μετὰ ii, 67, 4. vi, 105, 2; ξυμπλεῖν μετὰ vi, 44, 1, and ξυγγινῶναι μετὰ just below.—παρὰ τὸ ἀσφαλέστερον: 'in disregard of...'; cp. i, 67, 4. v, 90, &c.



τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἡσθάνοντο οὐδ' αὐτοὺς ἀντιλέγοντας ἔτι μετὰ τὴν Σικελικὴν ξυμφορὰν ὥς οὐ πάνυ πόνηρα σφῶν βεβαίως τὰ πράγματα εἶη· εἰ δέ τι ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρωπείοις τοῦ βίου παραλόγοις ἐσφάλησαν, μετὰ πολλῶν οἷς ταῦτα ἔδοξε, [τὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων 5 ταχὺ ξυναιρεθῆσθαι], τὴν ἀμαρτίαν ξυνέγνωσαν. εἰργομένοις 6 οὖν αὐτοῖς τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ κατὰ γῆν πορθουμένοις ἐνεχείρησάν τινες πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ἀγαγεῖν τὴν πόλιν· οὐ αἰσθόμενοι οἱ ἄρχοντες αὐτοὶ μὲν ἡσύχασαν, Ἀστύοχον δὲ ἐξ Ἐρυθρῶν τὸν ναύαρχον

5. ξυναιρεθῆσθαι AC etc.

7. The MSS. give οὗς αἰσθόμενοι, which Krüger explains as equivalent to ὧν τὰ ἔργα αἰσθ. This seems very doubtful. οὐ is Stahl's correction.

1. οὐδ' αὐτοῖς ἀντιλέγοντας] cp. c. 2, 2 μηδ' ὑπολείπει λόγον αὐτοῖς ὥς κ.τ.λ.—βεβαίως goes with εἶη, 'assuredly were', not with πόνηρα. cp. iv, 126, 4 οἷς δὲ βεβαίως τι πρόσσεστιν ἀγαθόν.

3. ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρωπείοις τοῦ βίου παραλόγοις] cp. vii, 61, 3, where παράλογος, as here, seems to mean 'an unexpected event' (objective). 'Surprise' is similarly used in English. τοῦ βίου is merely an amplification of ἀνθρωπείοις. οἷα ἐν τῷ ἀνθρωπείῳ βίῳ γίγνεται.

4. μετὰ πολλῶν...ξυνέγνωσαν] 'They were only one state among many who found themselves mistaken'. ξυγγιγνώσκειν only occurs twice elsewhere in Thuc. (ii, 60, 4. vii, 73, 2), and both times with the meaning 'to join in approving', never in the common Attic sense 'to pardon'. In this sense Thuc. (following Ionic usage) has always either ξυγγνώμην ἔχειν, or the impersonal construction ξυγγνώμη (ἔστι); cp. i, 32, 5. iv, 114, 5.—[τὰ τῶν Ἀθ...ξυναιρεθῆσθαι]: ξυναιρεθῆσθαι (v. crit. note) would not give the required meaning (ξυνήρει, ii, 51, 3, quoted by Arnold, has a different sense). But the words are probably interpolated.

5. εἰργομένοις οὖν αὐτοῖς] In this and similar passages the dat. gives the person with reference to whom (as affecting whom) the statement is made. It

is a not unnatural development of such phrases as c. 9, 2, Ἅγις δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐτόίμος ἦν κ.τ.λ. (which might have been expanded into οὕτω δὲ διακειμένοις αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἅγις ἐτόίμος ἦν κ.τ.λ.). Such datives are particularly common in Herod. e.g. i, 78 ταῦτα ἐπιλεγόμενῳ Κροίσῳ τὸ πρόσσετον ὀφίων πᾶν ἐνεπλήσθη; and vi, 21 ποιήσαντι Φρυγίῳ δράμα...καὶ διδάξαντι, ἐς δάκρυά τε ἔπεσε τὸ θέητρον, καὶ ἐξημίωσάν μιν. In sense the construction approximates closely to a gen. abs. There is an instance of it in Thuc. iv, 56, 1 τοῖς δ' Ἀθηναίοις τότε τὴν παραθαλασσίαν δοῦσι τὰ μὲν πολλὰ ἡσύχασαν (sc. οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι). Dr Rutherford here justly points out that ἡσύχασαν is not the tense required, but his objections to the dative seem rather hasty. In iv, 10, 3, if the text is right, a similar dative occurs, but this is by no means certain.

7. πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ἀγαγεῖν] cp. iii, 67, 3. ἄγειν πρὸς... is used where a person follows the preposition. In other cases Thuc. has either ἀγειν ἐς... (e.g. ἐς ἔδυβασιν καὶ φιλιαν ii, 2, 4) or προσάγεσθαι (absolutely or with ἐς); cp. iii, 32, 2. 55, 3.

8. ἐξ Ἐρυθρῶν] We left him at Chios, c. 23, 5, but the Athenians had stations in the territory of Erythrae (c. 24, 2) which no doubt brought him there for attack or defence.

μετὰ τεσσάρων νεῶν, αἱ παρήσαν αὐτῷ, κομίσαντες ἐσκόπουν ὅπως μετριώτατα ἢ ὁμήρων λήψει ἢ ἄλλῃ τῇ τρόπῳ καταπαύσουσι τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἔπρασσον.

XXV. Ἐκ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέρους τελευτῶντος χίλιοι ὀπλῖται Ἀθηναίων καὶ πεντακόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι Ἀργείων 5 (τοὺς γὰρ πεντακοσίους τῶν Ἀργείων ψιλοὺς ὄντας ὥπλισαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι) καὶ χίλιοι τῶν ξυμμάχων ναυσὶ δυοῖν δεύουσais πεντήκοντα, ὧν ἦσαν καὶ ὀπλιταγωγοί, Φρυνίχου καὶ Ὀνομακλέους καὶ Σκιρωνίδου στρατηγούντων κατέπλευσαν ἐς Σάμον, καὶ διαβάντες 2 ἐς Μίλητον ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο. Μιλήσιοι δὲ ἐξελθόντες αὐτοὶ τε, 10 ὀκτακόσιοι ὀπλῖται, καὶ οἱ μετὰ Χαλκιδέως ἐλθόντες Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ Τισσαφέρνους τι ξενικὸν ἐπικουρικόν, καὶ αὐτὸς Τισσαφέρνης παρὼν καὶ ἡ ἵππος αὐτοῦ, ξυνέβαλον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ 3 τοῖς ξυμμάχοις. καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀργεῖοι τῷ σφετέρῳ αὐτῶν κέρα προεξάξαντες καὶ καταφρονήσαντες, ὡς ἐπὶ Ἰωνάς τε καὶ οὐ 15 δεξομένους ἀτακτότερον χωροῦντες, νικῶνται ὑπὸ τῶν Μιλησίων

15. προεξάξαντες B. προεξάρξαντες CG. προεξάξαντες AEFM.

4. τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέρους τελευτῶντος] i.e. at the end of September, 412 B.C.—τοὺς γὰρ πεντακοσίους: for the article cp. c. 15, 1, and note.

8. ὧν ἦσαν καὶ ὀπλιταγωγοί] 'among which were some transports'; cp. c. 62, 2 ὧν καὶ στρατιώτιδες ἦσαν ὀπλίτας ἀγούσαι. These regular troop ships are apparently distinct from the ὀλκάδες which were sometimes used for transporting troops. cp. vii, 25, 3. 31, 1.

12. ξενικὸν ἐπικουρικόν] There seems no necessity to bracket ξενικόν (Class., Stahl) against the mss. Poppo compares iii, 109, 2 τὸν μισθοφόρον ὄχλον τὸν ξενικόν, where apparently the Epirot tribes are meant; also Xen. *Hell.* vi, 1, 4 ξένους ἔχω μισθοφόρους. They would probably be partly barbarians, partly Greeks, like the ἐπικουροὶ of Pissouthnes iii, 34, 2 (cp. τοὺς βαρβάρους καὶ τὸν ἄλλον ὄχλον § 4). ξενικός would then imply that they were a roving mercenary force with no particular nationality. This certainly agrees with the later use of

ξενικόν τρέφειν in Dem. *Phil.* i, 27, &c. For the use of Greek mercenaries at this time cp. iv, 52, 2 μισθωσάμενοι ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ἐπικουρικόν.

15. προεξάξαντες καὶ καταφρονήσαντες] Classen compares iv, 34, 1 καταφρονήσαντες καὶ ἐμβοήσαντες, ἀθρόοι ὤρμησαν ἐπ' αὐτούς. καταφρονήσαντες is to be taken absolutely, not with ὡς ἐπὶ.. which belongs to ἀτακτότερον χωροῦντες. cp. ii, 11, 4. vi, 33, 3, and v. note on c. 8, 4. Other instances of two participles connected by καί, followed by a third without καί, occur in iv, 91, 2. 125, 1. viii, 103, 1. Sometimes καί joins the second and third of three participles and is omitted between the first and second, e.g. ii, 75, 3. viii, 39, 3. 105, 3. It is the exception in Thuc. to find it in both places.

ὡς ἐπὶ Ἰωνάς τε καὶ οὐ δεξαμένους] cp. v, 9, 1 ὅτι Δωριεὺς μέλλετε Ἴωσι μάχεσθαι κ.τ.λ., and vi, 77, 1. δέχεσθαι is common in this sense; cp. iv, 126, 6. 127, 2.

καὶ διαφθείρονται αὐτῶν ὀλίγῃ ἐλάσσους τριακοσίων ἀνδρῶν.  
 Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τοὺς τε Πελοποννησίους πρῶτους νικήσαντες καὶ τοὺς 4  
 βαρβάρους καὶ τὸν ἄλλον ὄχλον ὡσάμενοι, τοῖς Μιλησίοις οὐ  
 ξυμίζαντες, ἀλλ' ὑποχωρησάντων αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Ἀργείων  
 5 τροπῆς ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ἐώρων τὸ ἄλλο σφῶν ἡσσωμένον, πρὸς  
 αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν τῶν Μιλησίων κρατοῦντες ἤδη τὰ ὅπλα τίθενται.  
 καὶ ξυνέβη ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ταύτῃ τοὺς Ἴωνας ἀμφοτέρωθεν τῶν 5  
 Δωριῶν κρατῆσαι· τοὺς τε γὰρ κατὰ σφῶς Πελοποννησίους οἱ  
 Ἀθηναῖοι ἐνίκων καὶ τοὺς Ἀργείους οἱ Μιλησίοι. στήσαντες δὲ  
 10 τροπαίων τὸν περιτειχισμὸν ἰσθμῶδους ὄντος τοῦ χωρίου οἱ Ἀθη-  
 ναῖοι παρεσκευάζοντο, νομίζοντες, εἰ προσαγάγοντο Μίλητον,  
 ῥαδίως ἂν σφίσι καὶ τὰλλα προσχωρήσαι.

1. ὀλίγοι AC etc. 7. ἀμφοτέρων AC etc. 12. προσχωρήσεν ABCEFM.

4. ἀπὸ τῆς...τροπῆς] cp. Herod. vi, 129 ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ δειπνῶν ἐγένοντο. Thuc. iii, 112, 2. iv, 78, 6. vii, 43, 2. viii, 82, 3. —τὸ ἄλλο σφῶν: τὸ ἄλλο is often used as a substantive, e.g. i, 48, 3. iii, 107, 4, but I can only find one other instance where it is followed by a genitive depending upon it, viz. vii, 2, 4 τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶ ῥηκοδόμων...τῷ δὲ ἄλλῳ τοῦ κύκλου κ.τ.λ. A similar use of τὸ ἡμῶν is common; cp. iv, 35, 5. vi, 67, 1.

6. τὰ ὅπλα τίθενται] The phrase τίθεσθαι τὰ ὅπλα occurs ii, 2, 4. iv, 44, i. 68, 3. 90, 4. 91, 1. 93, 3. v, 74, 2 (προθέμενοι). vii, 3, 1. viii, 93, 1. It means that, the troops being drawn up in order, each man grounds his shield and lays down his spear beside him. Sometimes this is done in halting in the face of an enemy, sometimes (Xen. *Anab.* vii, 1, 22) the order θέσθε τὰ ὅπλα ἐν τάξει is used as a means of getting the men into their ranks, and ready for any operation. Generally the men remain as they stand till the arms are taken up again, but occasionally (as in v, 74, 2) they disperse for various purposes. In v, 74, 2, and more particularly in the passage of Xenophon referred to, it seems almost certain that each spear and shield

is left lying just as it was put down by its owner. This may have been the practice when the absence was only a short one, but in camp and on garrison duty when the arms were regularly deposited at certain centres, one would suppose that they must have been to some extent 'stacked' or collected in small groups. Perhaps this was left to the ὑπέρτης attached to each hoplite (iii, 17, 3), who doubtless cleaned and looked after his master's arms, but we have no definite information on the subject. Xen. *Anab.* ii, 2, 17—21 is interesting in this connexion.

8. κατὰ σφῶς] predicative: τοὺς Πελ. κατὰ σφῶς ὄντας.

12. ῥαδίως ἂν προσχωρήσαι] In this and four other places in Thuc. the MSS. give ἂν with the fut. infin. I think no one who reads carefully Madvig's discussion of the question (*Advers.* i, 4) can hesitate to correct them all. v. also Cobet *Var. Lect.* c. vi, p. 92.

cc. 28—30. Forty-five Peloponnesian and Sicilian ships arrive and prepare to relieve Miletus. Phrynichus, the Athenian general, insists on retiring to Samos. The Peloponnesians assist Tissaphernes to reduce Iasos, and then establish their

XXVI. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ περὶ δέιλῃν ἤδη ὄψιαν ἀγγέλλεται αὐτοῖς τὰς ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου καὶ Σικελίας πέντε καὶ πεντήκοντα ναῦς ὅσον οὐ παρέιναι. τῶν τε γὰρ Σικελιωτῶν Ἑρμοκράτους τοῦ Συρακοσίου μάλιστα ἐνάγοντος ξυνεπιλαβέσθαι καὶ τῆς ὑπολοίπου Ἀθηναίων καταλύσεως, εἴκοσι νῆες Συρακοσίων ἦλθον καὶ Σελινούντιαι δύο, αἷ τε ἐκ Πελοποννήσου, ἃς παρεσκευάζοντο, ἐτοῖμαι ἤδη οὐσαι· καὶ Θηριμένει τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ ξυναμφότεραι ὡς Ἀστυόχον τὸν ναύαρχον προσταχθεῖσαι κομίσαι, κατέπλευσαν ἐς 5  
2 Λέρον πρῶτον τὴν πρὸ Μιλήτου νῆσον. ἔπειτα ἐκεῖθεν αἰσθόμενοι ἐπὶ Μιλήτῳ ὄντας Ἀθηναίους ἐς τὸν Ἰασικὸν κόλπον πρότερον 10

2. ἀπὸ σικελίας καὶ πελοποννήσου B. 4. AC etc. omit καὶ before τῆς ὑπολοίπου. 9. ἐλεόν ACG. ἐλεον E. ἐλεον M. ἐλεον F (for Λέρον).

head quarters at Miletus. Disputes between Tiss. and the Peloponnesians as to the payment of the fleet.

1. περὶ δέιλῃν ἤδη ὄψιαν] Herod. has δέιλῃ πρωτᾷ (viii, 6) as well as δέιλῃ ὄψια, δέιλῃ being merely the afternoon. But the distinction is not clearly maintained in Thuc. who uses δέιλῃ by itself as practically synonymous with δέιλῃ ὄψια, i.e. evening. cp. iv, 69, 3. 103, 1. —τὰς ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου καὶ Σικελίας: This order seems more probable than that of B. It is less obvious, but on the other hand quite intelligible, as the ships came last from the Peloponnesians. cp. c. 108, 1 ἀπὸ τῆς Καύνου καὶ Φασηλίδος ἐς τὴν Σάμον.

2. πέντε καὶ πεντήκοντα.] As far as we have data the number is only 50. It can be worked out from c. 7; c. 8, 4; c. 20, 1; c. 23, 1—5. Stahl accordingly proposes to add καὶ ἄλλαι πέντε after ἐτοῖμοι ἤδη οὐσαι. But Thuc., while giving the numbers at various times in detail, often omits the explanations necessary to account for them. cp. Arnold's note on viii, 80, 4. Perhaps some of the 15 ships which returned from Sicily (c. 13) may have joined the expedition, or set others free to do so.

3. ὅσον οὐ] The sense 'just...' which ὅσον has in this phrase appears without the usual negative in vi, 105, 2

ὅσον σχόντας μόνον ξὺν ὅπλοις ἐς τὴν Λακωνικὴν. 'Just landing and nothing more...' cp. Plat. *Prot.* 334 c. Aristoph. *Wasps* 1288.

8. προσταχθεῖσαι κομίσαι] Class. compares ii, 7, 2 νῆες ἐπετάχθησαν ποιεῖσθαι, a reading which he defends in his critical remarks. The inverse of this phrase occurs in vii, 29, 1 προσταξάντες κομίσαι αὐτοὺς Διτρέφει.

9. Λέρον τὴν πρὸ Μιλήτου νῆσον] Λέρον, the reading of B for Ἐλεόν, is almost certainly right in spite of the fact that it is 350 stadia (about 40 miles) from Miletus. The reasons for accepting it are, (1) the reference in c. 27, 1 ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς Λέρου ἐπύθετο, (2) the fact that Leros is in the direct route to Miletus, and also close to the entrance of the Iasic gulf, while as the Athenians were at Lade the Peloponnesians could hardly have reached any of the small islands close by without being sighted by them (whereas ἐπύθετο shows that this had not been the case). Herodotus (v, 125) mentions Leros as lying near enough to Miletus to be a convenient place of temporary retreat. The Oenussae Islands spoken of as πρὸ Χίου (c. 24, 5) seem to be quite 10 miles distant. No doubt however Thuc. would not have used this phrase of Leros unless he had thought that it was much nearer to Miletus than it actually is.

πλεύσαντες ἐβούλοντο εἰδέναι τὰ περὶ τῆς Μιλήτου. ἐλθόντος 3  
 δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδου ἱππῶ ἐς Τειχιούσσαν τῆς Μιλησίας, οἵπερ τοῦ  
 κόλπου πλεύσαντες ἠύλισαντο, πυνθάνονται τὰ περὶ τῆς μάχης  
 (παρὴν γὰρ ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης καὶ ξυνεμάχετο τοῖς Μιλησίοις καὶ  
 5 Τισσαφέρνει), καὶ αὐτοῖς παρῆναι, εἰ μὴ βούλονται τὰ τε ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ  
 καὶ τὰ ξύμπαντα πράγματα διωλέσαι, ὡς τάχιστα βοηθεῖν Μιλήτῳ  
 καὶ μὴ περιδεῖν ἀποτευχισθεῖσαν.

XXVII. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἅμα τῇ ἔφ' ἐμελλον βοηθήσειν· Φρύνιχος  
 δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγός, ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς Λέρου ἐπύθετο τὰ τῶν  
 10 νεῶν σαφῶς, βουλομένων τῶν ξυναρχόντων ὑπομείναντας διαναι-  
 μαχεῖν, οὐκ ἔφη οὗτ' αὐτὸς ποιήσειεν τοῦτο οὗτ' ἐκείνοις οὐδ'  
 ἄλλῳ οὐδενὶ ἐς δύναμιν ἐπιτρέψειν. ὅπου γὰρ [ἔξεστιν] ἐν 2

2. οἵπερ C. οἵπερ AEFM. οὐ ὑπὲρ B. 9. Λέρου B. δέρου AC etc.  
 11. οὗτ' ἄλλω MSS. οὐδ' Bk.—οὗτ' ἐκείνοις answers to οὗτ' αὐτὸς, but copyists have  
 wrongly coupled οὗτ' ἐκείνοις...οὗτ' ἄλλῳ.

1. ἐλθόντος ἱππῶ] instrumental dat. instead of the more usual ἐφ' ἱππῶ. cp. Xen. Cyr. iv, 3, 18 διώξομαι δὲ τῷ ἱππῳ. Teichiusa must have been on the N. side of the Iasic gulf, and therefore not far S.E. of Miletus by land.—τοῦ κόλπου: partitive gen. after οἵπερ, which belongs to πλεύσαντες not to ἠύλισαντο.

7. περιδεῖν ἀποτευχισθεῖσαν] The aor. ἀποτευχισθεῖσαν means 'the fact of its being blockaded' without reference to time (which would be expressed by pres. or perf.); cp. ii, 20, 2 τὴν γῆν οὐκ ἂν περιδεῖν τμηθῆναι. The infin. and part. are used indifferently after περιδεῖν.

10. ὑπομείναντας] cp. iv, 30, 2 ἀναγκασθέντων τῆς νῆσου τοῖς ἐσχάτοις προσισχωρτας ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι. But ὑπομείναντες (Herwerden) may very possibly be right; cp. c. 104, 4 ὑπερσχόντες...ἀποκληῖσαι.

12. ὅπου γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] ἔξεστιν and ἔσται cannot both be genuine, and in fact ἔξεστιν spoils the sense. Phrynichus has no need to say that they have the choice of fighting later on (ἔξεστιν ἐν ὑστέρῳ... ἀγωνίσασθαι), for that is sufficiently obvious. His point is, 'later on you will

fight with full knowledge and preparation' (ἐν ὑστέρῳ σαφῶς εἰδόντας κ.τ.λ.... ἔσται ἀγωνίσασθαι). Stahl's παρασκευασμένων is no doubt right, cp. vii, 12, 4 τὰς μὲν γὰρ ναὺς οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνελέκοντας διαψύξαι. The dat. (v. crit. note) is probably due to ἔξεστιν. Classen's παρασκευασμένους does not account for the variants, and deviates from Thucydides' ordinary if not invariable practice of making παρασκευάζεσθαι refer to the parties preparing for battle.—The words ὅποι τε βούλονται which B inserts after ἀγωνίσασθαι are almost certainly due to a marginal note. Stahl corrects to ὅποτε βούλονται, connecting it with ἀγωνίσασθαι, but Thucydides' regular usage would require ὅπότεν βούλονται: cp. ii, 84, 2. iv, 21, 2. v, 7, 4. It is however conceivable though not likely that ὅποτε might have the sense of *quando* (as in ii, 60, 8), 'since they want to fight'. cp. Plato Legg. 895, B ὅποτε δὴ τοῖσιν ἐνταῦθα ἔσμεν τοῦ λόγου, τότε ἀποκρινώμεθα.—οὐκ εἶδαι has all the appearance of a gloss interpolated in the text, which it certainly does not improve. τὸ αἰσχρόν, by itself, in this sense is common; cp. ii, 42, 4. v, 105, 3.

ὑστέρφ, σαφῶς εἰδóτας πρὸς ὁπόσας τε ναῦς πολεμίας καὶ ὕσαι  
πρὸς αὐτάς ταῖς σφετέραις, ἱκανῶς καὶ καθ' ἡσυχίαν παρασκευα-  
σαμένους ἔσται ἀγωνίσασθαι, οὐδέποτε τῷ αἰσχυρῷ [ὀνειδεῖ] εἷξας  
3 ἀλόγως διακινδυνεύουσιν. οὐ γὰρ αἰσχυρὸν εἶναι Ἀθηναίους ναυτικῷ  
μετὰ καιροῦ ὑποχωρῆσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ ὁτουοῦν τρόπου αἰσχυριον 5  
ξυμβήσεσθαι ἣν ἡσσηθῶσι· καὶ τὴν πόλιν οὐ μόνον τῷ αἰσχυρῷ,  
ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ μεγίστῳ κινδύνῳ περιπίπτειν· ἥ μάλιστα ἐπὶ ταῖς  
γεγενημέναις ξυμφοραῖς ἐνδέχεσθαι μετὰ βεβαίου παρασκευῆς καθ'  
ἐκουσίαν, ἥ πάνυ γε ἀνάγκη, προτέρᾳ ποι ἐπιχειρεῖν, <ἦ>που δὴ  
4 μὴ βιαζομένη γε πρὸς αὐθαιρέτους κινδύνους ἵεναι. ὥς τάχιστα 10  
δὲ ἐκέλευε τοὺς τε τραυματίας ἀναλαμβάνοντας καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ

2. παρασκευασμένοις B. παρασκευασαμένοις AC etc. παρασκευασμένοις Class.  
3. ἐξέσται ἀγωνίσασθαι ὅποι τε βούλονται οὐδέποτε B. ονειδεῖ is probably a gloss  
on τῷ αἰσχυρῷ Krüger. Class. v. note. 4. ὀλίγωι for ἀλόγως B. 7. ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ  
MSS.—in which case περιπίπτειν would have to depend on αἰσχυριον ξυμβήσεσθαι.  
But the sense requires καὶ. μόλις MSS. 8. C omits καθ' ἐκουσίαν. 9. B  
omits ἀνάγκη. ἦπου Lindau and Herw. ποῦ MSS.

5. καὶ μετὰ ὁτουοῦν τρόπου] 'under  
whatever circumstances'. To be taken  
closely with ἣν ἡσσηθῶσι. The odd  
phrase μετὰ τρόπου is due to the wish to  
get a verbal contrast with μετὰ καιροῦ.  
In vi, 35 τρόπος has much the same  
sense, ὥς οὐδεὶς ἂν τρόπῳ ἔλθοιεν οἱ Ἀθη-  
ναῖοι: 'under no circumstances'. Had  
it not been for the antithesis of μετὰ  
καιροῦ Thuc. would no doubt have written  
ὁπωοῦν τρόπῳ here.

7. ἥ...ἐνδέχεσθαι] Krüger remarks  
that ἐνδέχεσθαι is not used elsewhere in  
Thuc. with a dative, though it occurs in  
Xenophon and Demosthenes (e.g. πρὸς  
"Αφοβ. 859, 15). For ἐπὶ ταῖς γεγ. ξυμ-  
φοραῖς cp. c. 106, 5.

8. μετὰ βεβαίου παρασκευῆς...ἥ πάνυ  
γε ἀνάγκη] The antithesis is not quite  
worked out. Aggressive action on the  
part of Athens would be either καθ'  
ἐκουσίαν or μὴ καθ' ἐκουσίαν. The only  
justification of the first would be βέβαιος  
παρασκευῆς, of the second ἀνάγκη. But to  
state the second alternative in full πάνυ  
γε ἀνάγκη μὴ καθ' ἐκουσίαν would be too

clumsy, and it is naturally compressed.  
καθ' ἐκουσίαν does not seem to occur  
elsewhere, though Steph. quotes ἐξ ἐκου-  
σίας Soph. Trach. 727, ἐκουσίᾳ Dem.  
Meid. 527 (v. l. ἐκουσίως). He also gives  
instances of ἐκουσίᾳ γνώμῃ in post-classical  
authors, so that it would appear as if some  
such word as γνώμῃ was here implied.  
This would be in accordance with custom,  
as these adverbial phrases with a feminine  
adjective seem chiefly to occur in cases  
where the adjective itself clearly suggests  
a particular substantive, e.g. ἐκ ταχέας  
Soph. Trach. 395, δι' ὀρθῆς Ant. 994  
(‘quick’ and ‘straight’ suggest ‘way’, as  
naturally as ‘willing’ suggests ‘mind’).

9. ἦπου δὲ] cp. i, 142, 3, vi, 37, 2  
(the latter a close parallel also introduced  
by a clause with μόλις). The construction  
is ἥ ἦπου δὴ ἐνδέχεσθαι ‘which of course  
(scilicet) may reasonably &c.’ ἦπου is  
almost certainly right.—πρὸς αὐθαιρ.  
κινδύνους ἵεναι: this is stronger than  
προτέρᾳ ἐπιχειρεῖν which might only  
mean striking the first blow where hos-  
tilities were inevitable; cp. i, 144, 1.

- τῶν σκευῶν ὅσα ἦλθον ἔχοντες, ἃ δ' ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας εἰλήφασιν καταλιπόντας, ὅπως κοῦφαι ὦσιν αἱ νῆες, ἀποπλεῖν ἐς Σάμον, κακείθεν ἤδη ξυναγαγόντας πάσας τὰς ναῦς τοὺς ἐπίπλους, ἦν που καιρὸς ἦ, ποιεῖσθαι. ὡς δὲ ἔπεισε, καὶ ἔδρασε ταῦτα· καὶ ἔδοξεν οὐκ ἐν 5 τῷ αὐτίκα μᾶλλον ἢ ὕστερον, οὐκ ἐς τοῦτο μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς ὅσα ἄλλα Φρύνιχος κατέστη, οὐκ ἀξύνετος εἶναι. καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι 6 ἀφ' ἐσπέρας εὐθύς τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἀτελεῖ τῇ νίκῃ ἀπὸ τῆς Μιλήτου ἀνέστησαν, καὶ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι κατὰ τάχος καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν τῆς ξυμφορᾶς ἀπέπλευσαν ἐκ τῆς Σάμου ἐπ' οἴκου.
- 10 XXVIII. Οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι ἅμα τῇ ἔφ' ἐκ τῆς Τειχιούσης ἄραντες ἐπικατάγονται, καὶ μέιναντες ἡμέραν μίαν τῇ ὕστεραίᾳ καὶ τὰς Χίᾶς ναῦς προσλαβόντες τὰς μετὰ Χαλκιδεῶς τὸ πρῶτον

4. εἴ for ἦ AC etc. (marg. B). 5. οὐδ' for οὐκ Krüg.; but this gives a false view of the relation between the two clauses. v. note.

1. τῶν σκευῶν ὅσα ἦλθον ἔχοντες] They had gone first to Samos (c. 25, 1), and had probably left some of their σκεύη there. cp. also c. 28, 1, and note.

4. ὡς δὲ ἔπεισε καὶ ἔδρασε] Class. quotes a number of passages (e.g. ii, 93, 4. iv, 8, 9. vii, 60, 2) to show that the subject of the second verb in such expressions as this is either identical with the subject of the first verb, or immediately suggested by it. The conjecture ἔδρασαν (adopted by some edd.) is therefore inadmissible. For the general sense cp. c. 51, 1 (also referring to Phrynichus) ἐστρατήγει δὲ καὶ κύριος ἦν αὐτὸς πράσσειν ταῦτα.

οὐκ ἐν τῷ αὐτίκα μᾶλλον ἢ ὕστερον] This is not a mere anticipation of οὐκ ἐς τοῦτο μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς ὅσα ἄλλα κ.τ.λ. but goes closely with ἔδοξεν: 'it was acknowledged afterwards, though not at the time'. Stahl quotes v, 8, 3. viii, 48, 5, to illustrate this sense of οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ. In these passages the two alternatives connected by οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ are not both true though in different degrees, but the first is *negatived*, the second *affirmed*. Similarly μᾶλλον ἢ very often *affirms* the first alternative, and *negatives* the second, and should in such cases be construed 'instead of', not 'rather than', cp. i, 140,

2. ii, 40, 1.—ἐς τοῦτο: to be taken with οὐκ ἀξύνετος; cp. iii, 11, 1 πιστὸν ἐς ξυμμαχίαν.

5. ἐς ὅσα ἄλλα...κατέστη] v. cc. 48—52, 54, 68, 90, 92. καταστῆναι ἐς τι is often used of being brought face to face with a critical position; cp. i, 69, 5. viii, 76, 5. The full construction is ἐς τὰ ἄλλα ἐς ὅσα κατέστη ἔδοξεν οὐκ ἀξύνετος εἶναι.

7. ἀφ' ἐσπέρας] used always by Thuc. of a *start* made at evening. cp. iii, 112, 2. vii, 29, 2.—ἀτελεῖ τῇ νίκῃ: 'with their victory (c. 25) incomplete', i.e. without reaping the fruits of it. Krüg. compares v, 13, 1 ἥσση ἀπεληλυθόντων.

8. πρὸς ὀργὴν τῆς ξυμφορᾶς] 'angered at *their* defeat' (c. 25, 3). cp. Aesch. *Ag.* 70 ἀπύρων ἱερῶν ὀργὰς ἀτενεῖς. Plat. *Legg.* 935, 1 ὀργὴν κακῶν ἐστιαμάτων.—ἐπικατάγονται: 'post projectionem Atheniensium ad Miletum appellunt' Portus. Most editors accept this, comparing iii, 49, 4. But 'post projectionem', though true, is more than the word conveys. ἐπὶ only implies a new or additional arrival, as in iii, 49, 4. i, 61, 1.

12. τὰς Χίᾶς ναῦς—ξυγκαταδιωχθείσας] v. c. 17. There were 20 of them.

ξυγκαταδιωχθείσας ἐβούλοντο πλεῦσαι ἐπὶ τὰ σκεύη ἃ ἐξείλοντο  
 2 ἐς Τειχιούσσαν πάλιν. καὶ ὡς ἦλθον, Τισσαφέρνῃς τῷ πεζῷ  
 παρελθὼν πείθει αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ Ἴασον, ἐν ᾗ Ἀμόργῃς πολέμος ὦν  
 κατεῖχε, πλεῦσαι. καὶ προσβαλόντες τῇ Ἰάσῳ αἰφνίδιοι καὶ οὐ  
 προσδεχομένων ἀλλ' ἢ Ἀττικὰς τὰς ναῦς εἶναι αἰροῦσι· καὶ 5  
 3 μάλιστα ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἐπηνέθησαν. καὶ τὸν τε  
 Ἀμόργην ζῶντα λαβόντες [Πισσοῦθνου νόθον υἱόν, ἀφεστῶτα δὲ  
 βασιλέως], παραδιδόασιν οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι Τισσαφέρνῃ ἀπαγαγεῖν,  
 εἰ βούλεται, βασιλεῖ, ὥσπερ αὐτῷ προσέταξε, καὶ τὴν Ἴασον  
 διεπόρθησαν καὶ χρήματα πάνυ πολλὰ ἢ στρατιὰ ἔλαβε· παλαιό- 10  
 4 πλουτον γὰρ ἦν τὸ χωρίον. τοὺς τ' ἐπικούρους τοὺς περὶ τὸν  
 Ἀμόργην παρὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς κομίσαντες καὶ οὐκ ἀδικήσαντες  
 ξυνέταξαν, ὅτι ἴσαν οἱ πλείστοι ἐκ Πελοποννήσου· τό τε πόλισμα  
 Τισσαφέρνῃ παραδόντες καὶ τὰ ἀνδράποδα πάντα, καὶ δοῦλα καὶ

2. M omits πάλιν. 5. AC etc. omit τὰς before ναῦς. 7. λαβόντες ζῶντα M.  
 Πισσοῦθνου... βασιλέως can hardly be genuine. Amorges has been mentioned just  
 before without this addition. 12. ἀμόργην τὸν πισσοῦθνον B.

1. τὰ σκεύη & ἐξείλοντο] they had  
 lightened their ships as they expected a  
 battle; cp. ii, 83, 3 οὐχ ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν  
 ἀλλὰ στρατιωτικώτερον παρεσκευασμένοι.  
 In vii, 24, 2 σκεύη appears to include,  
 besides sails and tackle, general property  
 and possibly provisions.

3. Ἴασον] Towards the N.E. end  
 of the Sinus Iasicus, and within easy  
 reach of Miletus. v. Texier, *Asie Mi-  
 neure*, iii, 136 ff. It was a walled town  
 situated on an island about a mile and a  
 quarter in circumference which forms a  
 good harbour on the S. side. The acro-  
 polis is strongly placed on a rocky hill  
 cut into terraces. A full account of Iasus  
 is given by Canon E. L. Hicks in the  
*Journal of Hell. Studies*, vol. viii, p. 83.

5. ἀλλ' ἢ] v. Kühner § 535, 6, *Anm.*

3. ἀλλ' ἢ occurs after a negative expressed  
 or implied. It appears to be a mixture  
 of two constructions (1) οὐδὲν ἄλλο... ἀλλά,  
 (2) οὐδὲν ἄλλο... ἢ. The redundant ἀλλ' ἢ  
 has come to be regarded as one word  
 which may take the place of either ἀλλὰ  
 or ἢ. Instances of οὐδὲν ἄλλο... ἀλλ' ἢ are

common (cp. Plat. *Phaed.* 97, D. *Rep.*  
 553, D) and sometimes a bare negative re-  
 places οὐδὲν ἄλλο. The full phrase there-  
 fore is not ἄλλο ἢ (Krüg.), but ἀλλὰ ἢ.

10. παλαιόπλουτον] ἀρχαῖοπλουτος is  
 more usual (v. L. & S.). παλαιόπλουτος  
 occurs only in Dio Cassius, and Aelian.  
 The wealth was derived from fisheries,  
 and cannot have been actually so very  
 great, as the tribute of Iasus was rated at  
 1 talent against 7½ talents paid by Ephe-  
 sus, 6 by Teos, and 1½ by Halicarnassus.

13. ξυνέταξαν] sc. σφίσι αὐτοῖς. ξυν-  
 τάσσειν does not occur elsewhere in Thuc.  
 in this sense, but means either simply 'to  
 draw up', or, in pass., 'to be drawn up in  
 compact order (ξύν)'; cp. vi, 98, 3. For  
 a similar exceptional force of ξύν in a  
 particular compound cp. ξυνεδάμβανον, c.  
 14, 1, and note.—ὅτι ἴσαν... ἐκ Πελοπον-  
 νήσου: they were his father's mercenaries  
 from Arcadia. cp. iii, 34, 2.

14. ἀνδράποδα] i.e. τοὺς ἀνδραποδι-  
 σθέντας, 'captives'; cp. vi, 62, 3. But  
 it is used also as equivalent to δοῦλοι;  
 cp. vii, 27, 5.



ἐλεύθερα, ὧν καθ' ἕκαστον στατήρα δαρεικὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ ξυνέβησαν λαβεῖν, ἔπειτα ἀνεχώρησαν ἐς τὴν Μίλητον. καὶ Πεδάριτόν τε 5 τὸν Λέοντος ἐς τὴν Χίον ἄρχοντα Λακεδαιμονίων πεμψάντων ἀποστέλλουσι πεξῇ μέχρι Ἐρυθρῶν ἔχοντα τὸ παρὰ Ἀμόργου 5 ἐπικουρικόν, καὶ ἐς τὴν Μίλητον αὐτοῦ Φίλιππον καθιστᾷσι. καὶ τὸ θέρος ἐτελεύτα.

XXIX. Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγυγνομένου χειμῶνος, ἐπειδὴ τὴν Ἰασον κατεστήσατο ὁ Τισσαφέρνης ἐς φυλακὴν, παρήλθεν ἐς τὴν Μί-

1. δαρεικὸν E. δωρικὸν AFM. 5. αὐτοῖ Stahl.

1. στατήρα δαρεικόν] These coins circulated among the Greeks; cp. Xen. *Anab.* i, 3, 21. vii, 6, 1. They were considered equivalent to 20 Attic drachmae (Xen. *Anab.* i, 7, 18), but their actual value in terms of our currency is about 12s. They were perhaps due to Darius Hystaspes. v. Herod. iv, 166.

ξυνέβησαν λαβεῖν] ξυμβαίνειν ('to agree') is constructed in Thuc. (1) with cogn. acc. e.g. ii, 5, 6 ἦν τι ξυμβαίνωσι. (2) with infin. e.g. ii, 4, 7, and here. (3) with ὥστε and infin. e.g. iv, 46, 2. v, 61, 5. (4) with ἐφ' ὅτε and fut. ind. e.g. i, 103, 1 ξυνέβησαν ἐφ' ὅτε ἐξίσω.

3. ἐς τὴν Χίον ἄρχοντα] 'governor for Chios'. ἐς goes with ἄρχοντα not with πεμψάντων or ἀποστέλλουσι. The phrase ἄρχων ἐς τόπον τινα is common when a governor designate is spoken of who has not yet actually arrived at his government; cp. c. 5, 1 ἄρχοντας ὡς ἐς τὴν Εὐβοίαν, c. 8, 2 προστετάκτο δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν (τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον) ἄρχων Κλέαρχος, c. 64, 2 Διοτρέφῃ ἡρημένον ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης ἄρχειν ἀπέστέλλον ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν. For Λακ. πεμψάντων cp. iv, 132, 3. v, 4, 1. The words are inserted to mark the fact that Pedaritus was appointed by the home government, not by Astyochus. He accordingly shows his independence in cc. 32, 33.

5. αὐτοῦ] Stahl corrects to αὐτοῖ because he thinks ἐς τὴν Μίλητον would require αὐτοῖ. But ἐς τὴν Μίλητον (ἄρχοντα) may perhaps be put instead of the more natural ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῳ (cp. c.

108, 2) simply as a parallel to ἐς τὴν Χίον ἄρχοντα. The αὐτοῦ will then belong to καθιστᾷσι, and the meaning be 'They made him, on the spot, governor for Miletus'. αὐτοῦ is thus contrasted with ἀποστέλλουσι.

8. κατεστήσατο ἐς φυλακὴν] Classen understands this 'he put into a state of security', comparing καθιστάναι ἐς ἀπορίαν ii, 81, 8, ἐς κίνδυνον ii, 100, 6, and many other such phrases. As to this interpretation there are two things to remark, (1) that it gives φυλακὴ a pass. sense which is hard to parallel (iii, 3, 4 τοὺς ἀνδρας ἐς φυλακὴν ἐποιήσαντο may be an instance), (2) the active and not the middle of καθιστάναι is regularly used in the sense Class. suggests and the phrase καθιστάναι ἐς is so common that this last reason has weight. Stahl (following Herw.) cuts out ἐς. But can φυλακὴ stand by itself (without a gen.) in the sense of φρούριον? On the other hand καθιστάσθαι often means 'to set in order', or 'organize'. It is thus used of newly conquered country in iv, 116, 3 ἃ τε εἶχε τῶν χωρίων καθίστατο, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπεβούλευε. cp. also i, 114, 3 τὴν ἄλλην (Εὐβοίαν) ὁμολογίᾳ κατεστήσαντο. These passages make it more than probable that κατεστήσατο has the same sense here. The words ἐς φυλακὴν will then mean simply 'with a view to defence'. cp. iv. 25, 9 ἐς τιμωρίαν ἐπέρχοντα. viii. 1, 3 ἐς εὐτέλειαν σωφρονίσαι. (Probably also in vi, 85, 3 we should read τάνθαδε εἰκὸς ... ἐς Συρακοσίων δέος καθίστασθαι.)

λητον, καὶ μηνὸς μὲν τροφήν, ὥσπερ ὑπέστη ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι, ἐς δραχμὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐκάστῳ πάσαις ταῖς ναυσὶ διέδωκε, τοῦ δὲ λοιποῦ χρόνου ἐβούλετο τριώβολον δίδοναι, ἕως ἂν βασιλέα 2 ἐπέρῃται· ἣν δὲ κελεύη, δώσειν ἔφη ἐντελὴ τὴν δραχμὴν. Ἐρμοκράτους δὲ ἀντειπόντος τοῦ Συρακοσίου στρατηγοῦ (ὁ γὰρ Θηριμένης 5 οὐ ναύαρχος ὢν, ἀλλ' Ἀστυόχῳ παραδοῦναι τὰς ναῦς ξυμπλέων, μαλακὸς ἦν περὶ τοῦ μισθοῦ) ὅμως δὲ παρὰ πέντε ναῦς πλέον ἀνδρὶ ἐκάστῳ ἢ τρεῖς ὀβολοὶ ὠμολογήθησαν. ἐς γὰρ πέντε ναῦς καὶ πεντήκοντα τριάκοντα τάλαντα ἐδίδου τοῦ μηνός· καὶ τοῖς 10 ἄλλοις, ὅσῳ πλείους νῆες ἦσαν τούτου τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τούτον ἐδίδото.

4. ἔφη δώσειν AC etc.

6. οὐκέτι for οὐ B. M omits οὐ.

9. τρία for

τριάκοντα AC etc. B omits it altogether.

1. ὥσπερ ὑπέστη] viz. in c. 5, 5, though the amount is not there mentioned.—ἐς δραχμὴν Ἀττικὴν: when a number or quantity for any reason regarded as a total, or a limit, it often has ἐς before it. cp. i, 100, 1 τὰς πάσας ἐς διακοσίας. Here ἐς δραχμὴν = 'a full drachma', 3 obols being the ordinary sum. The pay is *per diem*. Stahl compares iv, 16, 1, and vii, 87, 2, where rations are mentioned with a similar understanding, not expressly stated, that they are daily rations.

6. παραδοῦναι τὰς ναῦς ξυμπλέων] The inf. of purpose is frequent in Thuc. after verbs of 'going', or 'sending', especially πέμπειν and its compounds; cp. iv, 8, 3. 132, 3. vi, 50, 3. v. Michaelis *de inf. fin. usu Thuc.* p. 80.—μαλακός: cp. ii, 18, 3. vi, 13, 1. It is used by Thuc. as the antithesis to πρόθυμος, as may be seen by comparing vi, 78, 4 μὴ μαλακῶς... ξυμμαχεῖν with iii, 13, 7 βοηθησάντων ὑμῶν πρόθυμω.

7. ὅμως δὲ... τοῦ μηνός] Madvig's explanation of this passage (*Adv. Crit.* i, 133) is now generally accepted, and seems certainly right. παρὰ πέντε ναῦς πλέον means 'more by five ships' (pay). The expression is no doubt ambiguous, but those who object to it on that ground seem to forget that an express and clear

explanation immediately follows, viz. 'for 55 ships got the pay of 60'. Thirty talents (1080000 obols) would be a month's pay for 60 ships at the ordinary rate of 3 obols per man per day (3 obb. x 200 men x 30 days x 60 ships). This sum Thuc. says was given to 55 ships instead of 60; and he very intelligibly calls it παρὰ πέντε ναῦς πλέον than the ordinary rate. This explanation is the only one which gives παρὰ πέντε ναῦς a satisfactory sense. If Thuc. had meant 'for every 5 ships', there was nothing to prevent his using κατὰ or ἐς, and even if a few dubious examples of παρὰ in this sense can be produced (not from Thuc.) it does not alter the probabilities of the case. The change of τρία (MSS.) to τριάκοντα (Madv.) offers no difficulty considering the frequency of mistakes of number in all MSS.—ὠμολογήθησαν: the verb agrees in number with the sense rather than the grammatical form of πλέον ἢ τρεῖς ὀβολοί; cp. ii, 4, 5 τὸ δὲ πλείστον... ἐσπίπτουσιν ἐς ὄκνημα μέγα.

9. καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις] Fifty-five ships is the original number which came over (c. 26, 1), and for these a definite sum (30 talents) is agreed upon. The 'others' may have been the Chian ships which they took with them (c. 28, 1).—ἐδίδото: sc. μισθοῖς. cp. c. 36, 1.

XXX. Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος τοῖς ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ Ἀθηναίοις  
προσαφικμένοι γὰρ ἦσαν καὶ οἰκοθεν ἄλλαι νῆες πέντε καὶ τριά-  
κοντα καὶ στρατηγοὶ Χαρμῖνος καὶ Στρομβιχίδης καὶ Εὐκτῆμων,  
καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ Χίου καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πάσας ξυναγαγόντες, ἐβούλοντο  
5 διακληρωσάμενοι ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ Μιλήτῳ τῷ ναυτικῷ ἐφορμεῖν, πρὸς  
δὲ τὴν Χίον καὶ ναυτικὸν καὶ πεζὸν πέμψαι. καὶ ἐποίησαν οὕτως· 2  
Στρομβιχίδης μὲν γὰρ καὶ Ὀνομακλῆς καὶ Εὐκτῆμων τριάκοντα  
ναῦς ἔχοντες καὶ τῶν ἐς Μίλητον ἐλθόντων χιλιῶν ὀπλιτῶν μέρος

1. οἱ ἐν τῇ σάμῳ ἀθηναῖοι B.

2. προαφικμένοι AB.

4. πάσας καὶ τὰς

ἄλλας AC etc.

7. M has καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ χίου πάσας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ξυνηγᾶγοντο  
(repeated from l. 4) in place of the words τριάκοντα ναῦς ἔχοντες.

cc. 30—35. Fresh distribution of the Athenian forces. Strombichides with 30 ships proceeds against Chios: the remaining 74 harass the Peloponnesians at Miletus. Astyochus fails in an attempt on Clazomenae. The allies refuse to support him in assisting Lesbos to revolt from Athens: he therefore goes to Miletus and takes command of the combined Peloponnesian fleet. The Athenians at Chios lose 3 ships.

1. τοῖς ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ Ἀθηναίοις] This dat. is left without anything to govern it. Similar cases of anacoluthon (after a genitive) occur in i, 72, 1. 115, 4. In each of these cases a proper name put at the beginning of the sentence is attracted into a case which does not properly belong to it by the construction of a parenthesis (with γάρ) immediately following. Thucydides' almost invariable habit, when the persons or scene of operations change in his narrative, is to put the name which gives a key to the change at the beginning of the sentence (cp. note on c. 1, 1). If that name is separated from its own construction by a parenthesis in which it would naturally be represented by a pronoun in a different case, the pronoun is apt to drop out and the name itself to be attracted into the pronoun's case. Thus in i, 72, 1, instead of τοῖς δὲ Ἀθηναίοις, ἐτυχε γὰρ αὐτῶν

πρεσβela...παρούσα, ἐδοξε κ.τ.λ. we have τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων, ἐτυχε γὰρ πρεσβela...παρούσα, ἐδοξεν αὐτοῖς... (the insertion of αὐτοῖς here as an after-thought makes the example particularly interesting). In i, 115, 4, instead of οἱ δὲ Σάμιοι, ἦσαν γὰρ αὐτῶν τινὲς οἱ οὐχ ὑπέμενον, ...διέβησαν, we have τῶν δὲ Σαμίων, ἦσαν γὰρ τινες κ.τ.λ. Similarly in the present passage the dat. is due to the attraction of προσαφικμένοι, and it would have been more regular to write οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, προσαφικμένοι γὰρ ἦσαν αὐτοῖς κ.τ.λ. At first sight it is tempting to suppose that these attracted cases are all due to copyists. The only way to test, and in my judgment dispose of, such an assumption is by examination and comparison of all the passages where they occur. No argument from one or two of them can carry much weight.

2. καὶ οἰκοθεν] This anticipates καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ Χίου, although strictly speaking it is in the parenthesis and ought to be disconnected from the main sentence. The ships from Chios are those under Leon and Diomedon c. 24, 2.

5. διακληρωσάμενοι] For this casting of lots to decide the distribution of commands Stahl compares vi, 42, 1. 62, 1.

8. τῶν ἐς Μίλητον ἐλθόντων] The thousand Athenian hoplites mentioned in c. 25, 1.

ἄγοντες ἐν ναυσὶν ὀπλιταγωγοῖς ἐπὶ Χίου λαχόντες ἔπλεον, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἐν Σάμῳ μένοντες τέσσαρσι καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα ναυσὶν ἐθαλασσοκράτουν, καὶ ἐπίπλους τῇ Μιλήτῳ ἐποιοῦντο.

XXXI. Ὁ δ' Ἀστύοχος ὡς τότε ἐν τῇ Χίῳ ἔτυχε διὰ τὴν προδοσίαν τοὺς ὀμήρους καταλεγόμενος, τούτου μὲν ἐπέσχευ, ἐπειδὴ 5 ἦσθετο τὰς τε μετὰ Θηριμένους ναῦς ἡκούσας καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ξυμμαχίαν βελτίῳ ὄντα, λαβὼν δὲ ναῦς τὰς τε Πελοποννησιῶν 2 δέκα καὶ Χίας δέκα ἀνάγεται, καὶ προσβαλὼν Πτελεφῷ καὶ οὐχ ἔλῶν παρέπλευσεν ἐπὶ Κλαζομενάς, καὶ ἐκέλευεν αὐτῶν τοὺς τὰ Ἀθηναίων φρονούντας ἀνοικίεσθαι ἐς τὸν Δαφνούντα καὶ 10 προσχωρεῖν σφίσι. ξυνεκέλευε δὲ καὶ Ταμῶς, Ἰωνίας ὑπαρχος 3 ὢν. ὡς δ' οὐκ ἐσήκουν, προσβολὴν ποιησάμενος τῇ πόλει

1. ἀγαγόντες AC etc. ἀπολιπόντες (for ἄγοντες) B. 3. ἐπίπλους MSS. ἐπίπλους Kriug. cp. c. 38, 5. 44, 3. 100, 2. It is evidently a series of attacks that is meant. 12. ἐσβολὴν MSS. προσβολὴν Cobet. v. note.

4. τότε] c. 24, 6. Astyochoch had arrived from Erythrae in time to put a stop to a reaction at Chios in favour of Athens.

5. τούτου μὲν ἐπέσχευ] ἐπέσχευ with the gen. though common in Plato (v. Ast) and other Attic writers, does not occur elsewhere in Thuc. He uses ἐπέσχευ with the acc. (ii, 71, 6. v, 46, 1), which gives the same sense from a slightly different point of view. The gen. denotes the action *from* which you refrain, the acc. the action *with regard* to which you refrain. But the force of τοῦτο μὲν ἐπέσχευ in ii, 76, 2, is precisely the same as that of τούτου μὲν ἐπέσχευ in the present passage, and the whole context is so similar that, considering the worthlessness of our MSS. on such a point, it is difficult to avoid the suspicion that the expression was the same originally in both cases, and that we should read τοῦτο here. ἐπέσχευ περὶ is also fairly common. cp. v, 32, 6. viii, 5, 2.

6. τὰς μετὰ Θηριμένους] The Sicilian and Peloponnesian ships, c. 26, 1.—τὰς τε Πελοποννησιῶν δέκα: viz. four that he had brought with him from Erythrae (c. 24, 6), and six others which had come

from Cenchreae to Chios (c. 23, 5).

10. ἐς τὸν Δαφνούντα] In c. 23, 6, the anti-Athenian party retired to Daphnus on the mainland to be out of the way of the Athenian fleet. The Athenian party are now compelled to go there that they may be in the power of the Lacedaemonians and Tissaphernes.—καὶ προσχωρεῖν σφίσι: i.e. ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς (τοὺς Κλαζομενίους) προσχωρεῖν σφίσι. The object has been limited to suit ἀνοικίεσθαι, and the more general object which προσχωρεῖν requires is left to be inferred.

11. Ἰωνίας ὑπαρχος] This must mean the same as ὑπαρχος Τισσαφέρνης c. 16 ad. fin. and c. 108, 4. These ὑπαρχοι would be likely to become permanent officials, so that the phrase Ἰωνίας ὑπαρχος is intelligible even though Tamos was the personal subordinate of Tissaphernes. Herodotus often uses ὑπαρχος (sc. βασιλέως) of the satraps (e.g. iii, 128. iv. 166).

12. προσβολὴν] This seems a necessary correction for ἐσβολὴν. The latter word does not occur in Thuc. with a dative (but either absolutely or with ἐς), and means an incursion into a country, not an attack on a city; for προσβολὴν cp. iv, 23, 2.

οὔση ἀτειχίστω καὶ οὐ δυνάμενος ἐλεῖν, ἀπέπλευσεν ἀνέμῳ μεγάλῳ, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐς Φώκαιαν καὶ Κύμην, αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι νῆες κατήρην ἐς τὰς ἐπικειμένας ταῖς Κλαζομεναῖς νήσους Μαράθουσσαν καὶ Πήλην καὶ Δρύμουσσαν. καὶ ὅσα ὑπεξέκειτο αὐτόθι τῶν Κλαζομενίων, 4  
5 ἡμέρας ἐμμεῖναντες διὰ τοὺς ἀνέμους ὁκτῶ τὰ μὲν διήρπασαν καὶ ἀνήλωσαν, τὰ δὲ ἐσβαλόμενοι ἀπέπλευσαν ἐς Φώκαιαν καὶ Κύμην ὡς Ἀστύοχον.

XXXII. ὄντος δ' αὐτοῦ ἐνταῦθα Λεσβίων ἀφικνούνται πρέσβεις βουλόμενοι αὐθις ἀποστήναι· καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν πείθουσιν, 10  
ὡς δ' οἱ τε Κορίνθιοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ξύμμαχοι ἀπρόθυμοι ἦσαν διὰ τὸ πρότερον σφάλμα, ἄρας ἔπλει ἐπὶ τῆς Χίου. καὶ χειμασθεισῶν τῶν νεῶν ὕστερον ἀφικνούνται ἄλλαι ἄλλοθεν ἐς τὴν Χίον. καὶ 2  
μετὰ τοῦτο Πεδάριτος, τότε παριὼν πεζῇ ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου, γενόμενος ἐν Ἐρυθραῖς διαπεραιούται αὐτὸς τε καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ ἐς Χίον· 15  
ὑπῆρχον δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκ τῶν πέντε νεῶν στρατιῶται ὑπὸ Χαλκιδέως ἐς πεντακοσίους ξὺν ὅπλοις καταλειφθέντες. ἐπαγγελλομένων δέ 3  
τινων Λεσβίων τὴν ἀπόστασιν, προσφέρει τῷ τε Πεδάριτῳ καὶ τοῖς Χίοις ὁ Ἀστύοχος λόγον ὡς χρή παραγενομένους ταῖς ναυσὶν

6. ἐσβαλλόμενοι B. 8. πρέσβεις ἀφικνούνται AC etc. 9. B alone gives αἰθις. 11. χειμασθεισῶν καὶ πλανηθεισῶν B. 16. ὡς ἐς πεντακοσίους AC etc. 18. τὸν λόγον B; but v. note.

1. οὔση ἀτειχίστω] Class. compares iii, 33, 2 ἀτειχίστου γὰρ οὐσης τῆς Ἰωνίας κ.τ.λ. This was not the case with the more important towns such as Miletus, or the Carian cities, e.g. Iasus.

4. ὅσα ὑπεξέκειτο] 'all that they had deposited in the islands for safety'; cp. i, 137, 3. Similarly the Athenians at the time of the Persian invasion sent their wives and children for safety to Salamis. cp. Herod. viii, 60 Σαλαμὶς περιγίγεται, ἐς τὴν ἡμῖν ὑπεκκείται τέκνα τε καὶ γυναῖκες.—ἐσβαλόμενοι: 'putting on board their ships'. So ἐξαιρεῖσθαι 'to discharge cargo', c. 90, 5.

9. αὐθις] Lesbos had revolted in consequence of the success of Alcibiades and Chalcideus in Ionia, but had been immediately recovered by the Athenians; v. c. 23, 6.

11. χαμασθεισῶν τῶν νεῶν] It is impossible to accept B's addition καὶ

πλανηθεισῶν, after χειμασθεισῶν, without other support. B is rather inclined to insert explanations of this kind, and the very similar passage c. 80, 3 shows that χειμασθεισῶν by itself can stand here for 'caught and scattered by the storm'.

13. τότε παριὼν πεζῇ] c. 28, 5. The armament despatched him to his government (Chios) by way of Erythrae (πεζῇ μέχρι Ἐρυθρῶν) with the mercenaries of Amorges. He finds at Chios the force left by Chalcideus, c. 17, 1. The full complement of 5 ships would have been 1000 men. Chalcideus had apparently left half.

16. ἐπαγγελλομένων τὴν ἀπόστασιν] 'making propositions of revolt'. ἐπαγγελλεσθαι in this sense takes the infin. vi, 88, 6, and ὥστε with infin. viii, 86, 1; but not elsewhere in Thuc. the acc.

17. προσφέρει λόγον] B alone has τὸν λόγον, which Stahl explains to mean

ἀποστῆσαι τὴν Λέσβον· ἡ γὰρ ξυμμάχους πλείους σφᾶς ἔξειν ἡ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἣν τι σφάλλωνται, κακώσειν. οἱ δ' οὐκ ἐσῆκονον, οὐδὲ τὰς ναὺς ὁ Πεδάριτος ἔφη τῶν Χίων αὐτῷ προήσειν.

XXXIII. Κακεῖνος λαβὼν τὰς τε τῶν Κορινθίων πέντε καὶ ἕκτην Μεγαρίδα καὶ μίαν Ἑρμιονίδα καὶ ἄς αὐτὸς [Λακωνικὰς] ἔχων 5 ἦλθεν, ἔπλει ἐπὶ τῆς Μιλήτου πρὸς τὴν ναυαρχίαν, πολλὰ ἀπει- 2 λήσας τοῖς Χίοις ἡ μὴν μὴ ἐπιβοηθήσειν, ἣν τι δέωνται. καὶ προσβαλὼν Κωρύκῃ τῆς Ἐρυθραίας ἐνηυλίσατο. οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Σάμου Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ τὴν Χίον πλέοντες τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα λόφου διείργοντος καθωρμίσαντο, καὶ ἐλελήθεσαν 10

5. ἦλθεν ἔχων AC etc. 10. διείργοντο καὶ MSS. The correction is Krüger's, who however unnecessarily omits καὶ before αὐτοὶ in line 9.

the proposal stated in the following words. But if this were the meaning, we should expect to have the article in other instances, when λόγος is followed closely by an explanatory clause. This however is not the case; cp. ii, 101, 4. For λόγον προσφέρειν cp. iii, 109, 1.

2. ἣν τι σφάλλωνται] 'even if they fail'. ἣν τι καὶ σφάλλωνται would be clearer, but c. 76, 7 is to some extent parallel τὸ τε μέγιστον, ἣν πάντων σφάλλωνται, εἶναι αὐτοῖς...ἀποχωρήσεις.

4. τὰς τε τῶν Κορινθίων πέντε καὶ ἕκτην Μεγαρίδα] These are no doubt the 6 ships which came over from Cenchreae (c. 23, 5), and which Astyochus had brought with him together with 4 others (v. note on c. 31, 1) on this expedition. Perhaps the fact that these 6 came over separately may account for the odd expression καὶ ἕκτην Μεγαρίδα (i.e. 'which made up the six'). The one from Hermione is not specifically accounted for.

5. ἄς αὐτὸς [Λακωνικὰς] ἔχων ἦλθεν] Astyochus brought 4 ships with him when he first came over to Asia (c. 23, 1), and was shortly afterwards (c. 23, 5) joined by 6 others. It can hardly be doubted that these together make up the 10 Peloponnesian ships which he brings to Cumae in c. 31, and with which he subsequently proceeds to Chios (c. 32, 1).

On starting again he would naturally take these ships with him, and in fact 6 of them (v. preceding note) have already been mentioned. Therefore those 'ἄς αὐτὸς ἔχων ἦλθεν' must be the other 4, viz. those with which he originally arrived in Asia. These however were not Λακωνικαί (v. c. 20, 1. 23, 2), and indeed no Spartan ships have been mentioned except those brought over by Chalcideus (c. 12, 3), the crews of which were left to garrison Chios. Λακωνικὰς must therefore be a gloss. It was probably inserted by someone who supposed ἦλθεν to refer to Astyochus' recent arrival at Chios, and observed that some of the vessels which he then brought with him (τὰς τε τῶν Κορινθίων κ.τ.λ.) had already been mentioned.—πρὸς τὴν ναυαρχίαν: 'to undertake his duties as admiral'. His appointment is first noticed in c. 20, 1 (v. note *ad loc.*), but he has not yet been to Miletus the head quarters of the fleet, nor formally assumed the command.

9. ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα λόφου διείργοντος] The gen. λόφου depends upon the phrase ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα, 'on the other side of the hill'. In nom. and acc. the plural τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα is generally found (cp. i, 87, 2. vii, 84, 4. Xen. *Hell.* vi, 2, 7), but in the gen. or dat. the singular is usual (cp. vii, 37, 2).

ἀλλήλους. ἐλθούσης δὲ παρὰ Πεδάριτου ὑπὸ νύκτα ἐπιστολῆς ὡς 3  
 Ἐρυθραίων ἄνδρες αἰχμάλωτοι ἐκ Σάμου ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ ἐς Ἐρυθράς  
 ἥκουσιν ἀφειμένοι, ἀνάγεται ὁ Ἀστύχοχος εὐθὺς ἐς τὰς Ἐρυθράς  
 πάλιν, καὶ παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἐγένετο αὐτῷ μὴ περιπεσεῖν τοῖς Ἀθη-  
 5 ναίοις. διαπλεύσας δὲ καὶ ὁ Πεδάριτος παρ' αὐτὸν καὶ ἀναζητή- 4  
 σαντες τὰ περὶ τῶν δοκούντων προδιδόναι, ὡς ἡῦρον ἅπαν ἐπὶ  
 σωτηρίᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκ τῆς Σάμου προφασισθέν, ἀπολύσαντες  
 τῆς αἰτίας ἀπέπλευσαν ὁ μὲν ἐς τὴν Χίον, ὁ δὲ ἐς τὴν Μίλητον  
 ἐκομίσθη, ὥσπερ διενοεῖτο.  
 10 XXXIV. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἡ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατιὰ ταῖς  
 ναυσὶν ἐκ τοῦ Κωρύκου περιπλέουσα κατ' Ἀργίνου ἐπιτυγχάνει  
 τρισὶ ναυσὶ τῶν Χίων μακραῖς, καὶ ὥσπερ εἶχον ἰδόντες ἐδίωκον·  
 καὶ χειμῶν τε μέγας ἐπιγύγνεται καὶ αἱ μὲν τῶν Χίων μόλις

1. B alone gives ὑπὸ νύκτα. 4. αὐτῶν ACEF. 12. ὡς εἶδον ἔδ. B. ὥσπερ  
 ἰδόντες AC etc. ὥσπερ εἶχον ἰδόντες Stahl, *Symb. philol. Bonn.* p. 393 ff. ἐπεδίωκον  
 ACFGM. 13. μόγις AC etc. cp. c. 27, 3.

1. παρὰ Πεδάριτον] Some of the oligarchical Erythraeans may have communicated with Chios, supposing Astychus to be still there.—ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ: on the understanding that they should betray Erythrae to the Athenians. It had recently revolted (c. 14, 2).

4. παρὰ τοσοῦτον...μὴ περιπεσεῖν] Edd. quote as a parallel to the present passage iv, 106, 4 παρὰ νύκτα ἐγένετο λαβεῖν (τὴν Ἠϊόνα), but it is by no means certain that Brasidas is not there the subject to ἐγένετο. In that case it would be an instance of the personal construction which occurs in viii, 76, 4 παρ' ἐλάχιστον δὴ ἦλθε...ἀφελέσθαι (cp. also iii, 49, 4. vii, 2, 4). Here however the infin. μὴ περιπεσεῖν is the subject to ἐγένετο (cp. v, 93 ὅμῳ...ὑπακοῦσαι ἀν γένοιτο), and the whole phrase is equivalent to παρὰ τοσοῦτον οὐ περιέπεσε; cp. vii, 71, 3 παρ' ὀλίγον ἢ διέφευγον ἢ ἀπώλλυντο.

5. διαπλεύσας...καὶ ἀναζητήσαντες] This change of subject is harsher than the instances quoted by Classen, i, 18, 2. 39, 3. 49, 4. ii, 54, 2. There is a similar

change, though not exactly parallel, in c. 81, 1.

6. ἅπαν...προφασισθέν] It is the Erythraeans at home, not the prisoners, who are here said προφασίζεσθαι. A party in the state had pretended to conduct a treasonable correspondence with the prisoners in order to deceive the Athenians and induce them to let the prisoners go. This is the party that is meant by οἱ δοκούντες προδιδόναι.

10. ἡ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατιὰ] v. c. 33, 2. Arginon (the white headland) is the S.W. point of the peninsula opposite Chios, and Melaina (so called from the colour of its rocks which are volcanic) the N. point. It has been suggested that Erythrae also derives its name from the red trachyte upon which it stands.

12. ὥσπερ εἶχον] Stahl's correction seems certain; cp. iii, 30, 1. viii, 41, 3.—ἐπεδίωκον (v. crit. note) may have been due to the final syllable of ἰδόντες coalescing with ἐδίωκον, but the compounded form is quite appropriate in itself; cp. iii, 33, 3.

καταφεύγουσιν ἐς τὸν λιμένα, αἱ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων αἱ μὲν μάλιστα ὀρμήσασαι τρεῖς διαφθείρονται καὶ ἐκπίπτουσι πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τῶν Χίων, καὶ ἄνδρες οἱ μὲν ἀλίσκονται οἱ δ' ἀποθνήσκουσιν, αἱ δ' ἄλλαι καταφεύγουσιν ἐς τὸν ὑπὸ τῷ Μίμαντι λιμένα Φοινικοῦντα καλούμενον. ἐντεῦθεν δ' ὕστερον ἐς τὴν Λέσβον καθορμισάμενοι 5 παρσκευάζοντο ἐς τὸν τειχισμόν.

XXXV. Ἐκ δὲ τῆς Πελοποννήσου τοῦ αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος Ἰπποκράτης ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἐκπλεύσας δέκα μὲν Θουρίαις ναυσί, ὧν ἦρχε Δωριεύς ὁ Διαγόρου τρίτος αὐτός, μιᾷ δὲ Λακωνικῇ, μιᾷ

2. ὀρμήσασαι ABEFGM.

5. B omits καλούμενον.

1. αἱ μὲν μάλιστα ὀρμήσασαι] 'those that were hottest in the pursuit'; cp. iv, 103, 2 ἢ καὶ μᾶλλον ὄρμησε; not, 'quae longissime procurrant' (Port.). For the subdivision of the original subj. by αἱ μὲν...αἱ δὲ cp. note on c. 13, *ad fin.*

2. διαφθείρονται καὶ ἐκπίπτουσι.] 'were disabled and (afterwards) washed ashore'. διαφθεῖσθαι is constantly used of ships; cp. ii, 92, 2. vii, 23, 4. It means apparently much the same as καταδύναι (cp. vii, 34, 5), i.e. to be disabled and water-logged—a trireme could hardly sink altogether. ἐκπίπτουσι does not here mean that they were run ashore by their crews as sometimes happened, but washed ashore as wrecks. cp. ii, 92, 3.

4. Φοινικοῦντα] Livy (xxxvi, 45) says this is the first harbour of the territory of Erythrae on the south. Classen supposes therefore that Mimas is here used for the whole range from Mimas to Corycus. But it is much more probable that Livy is wrong. The Athenians fell in with the Chians off Arginon, and the Chians fled to the north, the Athenians closely following them. It is not likely therefore that the Athenians turned back and doubled Arginon again in the storm instead of running straight for Mimas.

6. παρσκευάζοντο ἐς τὸν τειχισμόν] The fortification in question is clearly that of Delphinium in Chios, c. 38, 2.

But it has not yet been mentioned, and this is the first intimation that any fortification is intended. It has been proposed therefore to strike out the article (cp. v, 17, 2 παρσκευῇ...ὡς ἐπὶ τειχισμῶν; vi, 44, 1 ὅσα ἐς τειχισμὸν ἐργαλεία). Perhaps however the article may be supported by ii, 77, 1 πρὸς τὴν περιτείχισιν παρσκευάζοντο, and viii, 103, 2 ἐς τὴν ναυμαχίαν παρσκευάζοντο, which are to some extent similar, neither περιτείχισις nor ναυμαχία having been previously mentioned.

cc. 35—39. The Athenians capture 6 Lacedaemonian ships off Cnidus. Second Treaty between the Lacedaemonians and Persians at Miletus. The Chians hard pressed by the Athenians apply to Astyochus for help, which he refuses.

8. Θουρίαις] Thurii had refused the alliance of the Lacedaemonians (vi, 104, 2), and warmly supported the Athenians (vii, 33). The Lacedaemonian faction formerly expelled (vii, 33, 5) had now returned and driven out their opponents.

9. ὧν ἦρχε Δωριεύς ὁ Διαγόρου] This Dorieus was a leader of the oligarchical party at Rhodes who had been driven into exile by the Athenians (Xen. *Hell.* i, 5, 190). He may have hoped to put pressure on his countrymen by capturing the trading vessels from Rhodian ports, for the ships from Egypt would generally call at Camirus and Ialysus.



δὲ Συρακοσίᾳ, καταπλεῖ ἐς Κνίδον· ἡ δ' ἀφειστήκει ἤδη ὑπὸ 2  
 Τισσαφέρνους. καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῳ, ὡς ἦσθοντο, ἐκέλευον  
 ταῖς μὲν ἡμισείαις τῶν νεῶν Κνίδον φυλάσσειν, ταῖς δὲ περὶ  
 Τριόπιον οὖσαις τὰς ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ὀλκάδας προσβαλλούσας  
 5 ξυλλαμβάνειν· ἔστι δὲ τὸ Τριόπιον ἄκρα τῆς Κνιδίας προύχουσα, 3  
 Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν. πυθόμενοι δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ πλεύσαντες ἐκ  
 τῆς Σάμου λαμβάνουσι τὰς ἐπὶ τῷ Τριοπίῳ φρουρούσας ἕξ ναῦς·  
 οἱ δ' ἄνδρες ἀποφεύγουσιν ἕξ αὐτῶν. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐς τὴν  
 Κνίδον καταπλεύσαντες καὶ προσβαλόντες τῇ πόλει ἀτειχίστῳ  
 10 οὔσῃ, ὀλίγου εἶλον. τῇ δ' ὑστεραία αὐθις προσέβαλλον, καὶ ὡς 4  
 ἄμεινον φραξαμένων αὐτῶν ὑπὸ νύκτα καὶ ἐπεσελθόντων αὐτοῖς  
 τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Τριοπίου ἐκ τῶν νεῶν διαφυγόντων οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως  
 ἔβλαπτον, ἀπελθόντες καὶ δηώσαντες τὴν τῶν Κνιδίων γῆν ἐς τὴν  
 Σάμον ἀπέπλευσαν.  
 15 XXXVI. Ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον Ἀστυόχου ἥκοντος ἐς

1. ἀπὸ Τισσ. MSS. ὑπὸ Palmer. v. note. 4. προσβαλοῦσας BCG. 13.  
 ἐπελθόντες AC etc.

1. ἐς Κνίδον] v. Newton, *Halicanassus, Cnidus and Branchidae*. Originally, like Mitylene and Myndus, Cnidus was on an island (Triopium) which stretches about 160 yds. from N.E. to S.W. nearly parallel with the mainland, and forms behind it two harbours communicating with one another. These were further protected by great artificial moles. One still exists (running from Triopium) constructed with huge blocks of stone, the foundations being 100 ft. under water. The outside of the island forms the promontory of Triopium (now Cape Crio), still dangerous and hard to double in rough weather, which makes Cnidus the more important as a refuge for coasting vessels.

ὑπὸ Τισσαφέρνους] The correction seems necessary. The sense requires that Cnidus should have revolted from Athens, at the instigation of Tissaphernes, and it would be needlessly confusing to use ἀπὸ after ἀφειστήκει of the agent instead of the person from whom the revolt is made.

3. ταῖς δὲ περὶ Τρ. οὖσαις] i.e. ταῖς δὲ ἡμισείαις, περὶ Τρ. οὖσαις κ.τ.λ. The last three words form a secondary predicate. They were ordered 'to cruise about Triopium and capture &c.'—τὰς ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ὀλκάδας: cp. iv, 53, 2. These ships were clearly bringing supplies to the Athenians. Arnold infers that Egypt was now wholly or in part in a state of revolt from the Persian king, quoting Diod. xiii, 46, 6, where (2 years later) a 'king of the Egyptians' threatens Phoenicia with invasion.

10. ὀλίγου εἶλον] this use of ὀλίγου occurs twice only in Thuc., here and iv, 124, 1, but is common in other writers. The full phrase is ὀλίγου δεῖν (v. Goodwin, *M.* & *T.* 779), the infin. being used parenthetically like δοκεῖν, εἶναι, &c.

12. οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως [έβλαπτον] οὐχ ὁμοίως generally means 'a good deal less' (as here), but it may also mean 'a good deal more'; cp. vii, 28, 4.—ἀπελθόντες: 'retiring further from the city', not 'taking their departure'.

15. Ἀστυόχου ἥκοντος ἐς τὴν Μ.]

τὴν Μίλητον ἐπὶ τὸ ναυτικόν, οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι εὐπόρως ἔτι εἶχον  
 ἅπαντα τὰ κατὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον. καὶ γὰρ μισθὸς ἐδίδото ἀρ-  
 κούντως, καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἰάσου μεγάλα χρήματα διαρπασθέντα  
 ὑπὴν τοῖς στρατιώταις, οἳ τε Μιλήσιοι προθύμως τὰ τοῦ πολέμου  
 2 ἔφερον. πρὸς δὲ τὸν Τισσαφέρην ἐδόκουν ὅμως τοῖς Πελοποννη- 5  
 σίοις αἱ πρῶται ξυνθήκαι, αἱ πρὸς Χαλκιδέα γενόμεναι, ἐνδεεῖς  
 εἶναι καὶ οὐ πρὸς σφῶν μᾶλλον, καὶ ἄλλας ἔτι Θηριμένους  
 παρόντος ἐποίουσαν· καὶ εἰσὶν αἶδε.

XXXVII. "Ξυνθήκαι Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων  
 πρὸς βασιλέα Δαρεῖον καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς βασιλέως καὶ Τισσα- 10  
 2 φέρην, σπονδὰς εἶναι καὶ φιλίαν κατὰ τάδε. ὁπόση χώρα καὶ  
 πόλεις βασιλέως εἰσὶ Δαρείου ἢ τοῦ πατρὸς ἦσαν ἢ τῶν προγόνων,  
 ἐπὶ ταύτας μὴ ἵεναι ἐπὶ πολέμῳ μηδὲ κακῷ μηδενὶ μήτε Λακεδαι-

7. ἐπὶ θηριμένους GM. Schol. ἐπὶ ACEF. 10. τοῦ βασιλέως MSS. τοὺς Bekk.  
 Probably βασιλεὺς with the article (in this sense) should always be corrected.

v. c. 33 *ad fin.* These words are put in to show that the narrative is resumed from there.—ἐπὶ τὸ ναυτικόν: ἐπὶ= 'to take the command of'; cp. c. 54, 3, 55, 1, and ἐπῆλθεν c. 20, 1.

4. ὑπῆν] ὑπέναι occurs only here and vi, 87, 4. It seems to differ from ὑπάρχειν in meaning 'to be all along', instead of 'to be to start with'.

τὰ τοῦ πολέμου ἔφερον] cp. iv, 121, 1 τὸν τε πόλεμον διενεοῦντο προθύμως ὁσεῖν. τὰ τοῦ πολέμου means 'the chances (events) of the war'; cp. ii, 11, 4 ἀθλα γὰρ τὰ τῶν πολέμων.

5. πρὸς δὲ τὸν Τισσαφέρην... ὅμως] These words are put first in order to contrast their contentment in other respects (εὐπόρως ἔτι εἶχον ἅπαντα κ.τ.λ.) with their discontent as regards their treaty with Tissaphernes. Probably the real construction is αἱ πρῶται ξυνθήκαι πρὸς τὸν Τισσαφέρην, but there is also a feeling that πρὸς τὸν Τισσ. can almost stand by itself in the general sense 'with regard to Tissaphernes'.—οὐ πρὸς σφῶν μᾶλλον: 'less advantageous to them than to Tissaphernes'. For πρὸς with the gen. in this sense cp. ii, 86, 5. iii, 38, 1. iv,

10, 2. The idea of 'origin from' naturally leads to the idea 'on the side of', i.e. 'in accordance with the interests of'; cp. Eur. Alc. 57 πρὸς τῶν ἐχόντων Φοῖβε τὸν νόμον τίθης. In Lat. *ex* ('in accordance with') is somewhat similarly used.—ἐπὶ Θηριμένους παρόντος: ἐπὶ implies that he is soon going, though the fact is not mentioned till c. 38, 1.

9. ξυνθήκαι κ.τ.λ.] The only real difference between this treaty and the former one is that it does not specially recognize the Persian supremacy over the Greek states once subject to the King (cp. c. 18, 1), though it does so by implication; and it does not pledge the Lac. to help the King in preventing any of the Ionian cities from recovering their freedom. There is also a somewhat vague provision as to the payment of the Peloponnesian troops by the Persians.

10. τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς βασιλέως] Artaxerxes and Cyrus. 'Perhaps inserted in order that they might be bound by the treaty after Darius' death'. Arn.

13. ἐπὶ ταύτας μὴ ἵεναι κ.τ.λ.] This takes the place of βασιλέως ἔστω in the former treaty.

μονίους μήτε τοὺς ξυμμάχους τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων, μηδὲ φόρους  
 πράσσεσθαι ἐκ τῶν πόλεων τούτων μήτε Λακεδαιμονίους μήτε  
 τοὺς ξυμμάχους τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων· μηδὲ Δαρεῖον βασιλέα μηδὲ  
 ὧν βασιλεὺς ἄρχει ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους μηδὲ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἰέναι  
 5 ἐπὶ πολέμῳ μηδὲ κακῷ μηδενί. ἦν δέ τι δέωνται Λακεδαιμόνιοι 3  
 ἢ οἱ ξύμμαχοι βασιλέως, ἢ βασιλεὺς Λακεδαιμονίων ἢ τῶν ξυμ-  
 μάχων, ὅ τι ἂν πείθωσιν ἀλλήλους, τοῦτο ποιοῦσι καλῶς ἔχειν.  
 τὸν δὲ πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους κοινῇ 4  
 ἀμφοτέρους πολεμεῖν· ἦν δὲ κατὰ λυσιν ποιοῦνται, κοινῇ ἀμφοτέρους  
 10 ποιεῖσθαι. ὅποσῃ δ' ἂν στρατιὰ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ βασιλέως ἢ  
 μεταπεμφθέντος βασιλέως, τὴν δαπάνην βασιλέα παρέχειν. ἦν 5  
 δέ τις τῶν πόλεων ὅποσαι ξυνέθεντο βασιλεῖ ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλέως  
 ἱῇ χώραν, τοὺς ἄλλους κωλύειν καὶ ἀμύνειν βασιλεῖ κατὰ τὸ  
 δυνατόν· καὶ ἦν τις τῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλέως χώρᾳ ἢ ὕψους βασιλεὺς  
 15 ἄρχει ἐπὶ τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων ἱῇ ἢ τῶν ξυμμάχων, βασιλεὺς  
 κωλύτω καὶ ἀμυνέτω κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν."

XXXVIII. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτας τὰς ξυνθήκας Θηριμένης μὲν  
 παραδοὺς Ἀστυόχῳ τὰς ναῦς ἀποπλέων ἐν κέλῃτι ἀφανίζεται, οἱ 2  
 δ' ἐκ τῆς Λέσβου Ἀθηναῖοι ἤδη διαβεβηκότες ἐς τὴν Χίον τῇ  
 20 στρατιᾷ καὶ κρατοῦντες καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης Δελφίνιον ἐτείχιζον,  
 χωρίον ἄλλως τε ἐκ τῆς γῆς καρτερόν καὶ λιμένας ἔχον καὶ τῆς

1. *μήτε φόρους* MSS. *μηδὲ* Bekk. 19. *In AC etc. ἐς* has dropped out after  
*διαβεβηκότες*. 20. *AC etc. omit καὶ* before *γῆς*. 21. *ἐκ γῆς* *AC etc.*

11. *τὴν δαπάνην βασιλέα παρέχειν*  
 It looks as if this clause had purposely  
 been left as vague as possible. It all  
 turns upon the definition of *μεταπεμφ-  
 μένου βασιλέως*. Tissaphernes had sup-  
 ported the original application of the  
 Chians, so that the Lac. might argue  
 that the whole expedition came under  
 this head. On the other hand Tiss.  
 might plausibly wish to confine it to  
 operations such as those against Iasus  
 undertaken by special request on his  
 behalf.

18. *ἀφανίζεται* 'He was no more  
 seen'. cp. iv, 80, 4. He was doubtless  
 'lost at sea'. It has been pointed out  
 that the word is used of 'drowning' or  
 'sinking' by Xen. *Hell.* i, 6, 33, and  
 Aelian *V. H.* xii, 61, but that is merely

because the notion of absolute disappear-  
 ance is involved in death at sea, and it  
 does not make the word here a mere  
 synonym for 'drowned' any more than  
 is the case with 'lost' in English, which  
 is often similarly used.

20. *κρατοῦντες καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης*  
 The *καὶ* before *γῆς* (B only) is probably  
 right. cp. iii, 18, 5. v, 18, 2, 3. 47, 1.  
 When the phrase is general, as here,  
 'land and sea', the article is usually  
 omitted; but not always, cp. c. 46, 1  
*τῆς τε γῆς καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης τὸ κράτος*.  
 Delphinium is on the coast about 18 miles  
 from Chios.—*ἐκ τῆς γῆς*: 'on the land  
 side'. cp. iv, 31, 1 *τῆς γῆς ἑκατέρωθεν*,  
*ἐκ τε τοῦ πελάγους καὶ πρὸς τοῦ λιμένος*.  
 It is slightly more definite than *ἐκ γῆς*,  
 'by land'; cp. iii, 18, 5. viii, 56, 1.

3 τῶν Χίων πόλεως οὐ πολλὴ ἀπέχον. οἱ δὲ Χῖοι ἐν πολλαῖς ταῖς  
 πρὶν μάχαις πεπληγμένοι, καὶ ἄλλως ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς οὐ πάνν  
 εὖ διακείμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν μετὰ Τυδέως τοῦ Ἴωνος ἦδη ὑπὸ  
 Πεδάριτου ἐπ' ἀττικισμῷ τεθνεώτων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως κατ'  
 ἀνάγκην ἐς ὀλίγους κατεχομένης ὑπόπτως διακείμενοι ἀλλήλοις 5  
 ἡσύχαζον, καὶ οὐτ' αὐτοὶ διὰ ταῦτα οὔτε οἱ μετὰ Πεδάριτου  
 4 ἐπικούροι ἀξιόμαχοι αὐτοῖς ἐφαίνοντο. ἐς μέντοι τὴν Μίλητον  
 ἔπεμπον, κελεύοντες σφίσι τὸν Ἀστύοχον βοηθεῖν· ὥς δ' οὐκ  
 ἐσήκουεν, ἐπιστέλλει περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα Πεδάριτος  
 5 ὥς ἀδικούντος. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐν τῇ Χίῳ ἐς τοῦτο καθειστήκει τοῖς 10  
 Ἀθηναίοις· αἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς Σάμου νῆες αὐτοῖς ἐπίπλους μὲν ἐποιοῦντο  
 ταῖς ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῳ, ἐπεὶ δὲ μὴ ἀντανάγοιεν, ἀναχωροῦντες πάλιν  
 ἐς τὴν Σάμον ἡσύχαζον.

5. ἐς ὀλίγον MSS. v. note. 12. ἐπειδὴ δὲ B. ἀποχωροῦντες B.

1. ἐν πολλαῖς ταῖς πρὶν μάχαις πεπληγμένοι] Three of these defeats are mentioned in c. 24, 3. For πλήσσεσθαι cp. iii, 18, 2. v, 14, 1, and Aesch. *Pers.* 1014 στρατὸν μὲν τοσούτον τάλας πέπληγμαι.—καὶ ἄλλως: 'and besides that' (not 'and in other respects'); cp. c. 45, 1 ἦν Ἀγιδί ἐχθρὸς καὶ ἄλλως ἀπιστος ἐφαίνετο.

3. τῶν μετὰ Τυδέως...τεθνεώτων] In c. 24, 6 a democratic reaction at Samos was suppressed by Astyochus and its authors very leniently treated. Either the same movement had broken out again, or Pedaritus on his arrival (c. 28, 5) had further investigated the same matter and taken harsher measures.

5. ἐς ὀλίγους κατεχομένης] ὀλίγους is Dobree's correction for ὀλίγων of the MSS. cp. ii, 37, 1 διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐς ὀλίγους ἀλλ' ἐς πλείονας οἰκείν, and viii, 53, 3. 89, 2. On the other hand there is, as might be expected, no authority for ἐς ὀλίγων in the sense ἐς ὀλιγαρχίαν. In Plato *Polit.* 303, A (quoted by Arnold) τὸ ὀλίγων has quite a different meaning.

ὑπόπτως διακείμενοι ἀλλήλοις] probably passive, 'every man being mistrusted by his neighbour', as in c. 68, 1 ὑπόπτως τῷ πλήθει διὰ δόξαν δεινότητος

διακείμενος (v. note *ad loc.*). But ἀλλήλοις ὑπόπτως ἔχειν, c. 63, 2, seems to be active 'distrusting each other'.

7. αὐτοῖς] Classen connects ἀξιόμαχοι αὐτοῖς, sc. τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. But this is harsh, and ἐφαίνοντο almost requires the dat. here. cp. i, 95, 2. 107, 3. ii, 21, 2.

9. ἐπιστέλλει] Thuc. has ἐλθούσης ἐπιστολῆς, ἀφικομένης ἐπιστολῆς, ἐπιστολαὶ ἦκον, &c., but does not use πέμπει ἐπιστολήν of the writer. Instead of this he always has ἐπιστέλλειν. (διαπέμψαι i, 129, 1 only means to have a letter, written by somebody else, conveyed to its destination. πέμπειν γράμματα occurs c. 50, 4.)

10. ἐς τοῦτο καθειστήκει τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις] cp. c. 68, 1 τὸ πρᾶγμα ὅτῳ τρόπῳ κατέστη ἐς τοῦτο, and c. 76, 5. The meaning is 'so fared the Athenians at Chios, while their other squadron at Samos (v. c. 30, 2)....', not 'so favourable to the Athenians was the course of affairs at Chios', a rendering which by making too much of τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις loses the correlation between ἐν τῇ Χίῳ and ἐκ τῆς Σάμου.

12. ἐπεὶ δὲ μὴ ἀντανάγοιεν] 'as they kept refusing to come out against them'; the iterative optative negated, as in ii, 15, 1.

XXXIX. Ἐκ δὲ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χειμῶνι αἱ τῷ Φαρναβάξῃ ὑπὸ Καλλιγείτου τοῦ Μεγαρέως καὶ Τιμαγόρου τοῦ Κυζικηνοῦ πρᾶσσόντων παρασκευασθεῖσαι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι νῆες ἄρασαι ἔπλεον ἐπὶ Ἰωνίας περὶ ἡλίου τροπᾶς, 5 καὶ ἄρχων ἐπέπλει αὐτῶν Ἀντισθένης Σπαρτιατῆς. ξυνέπεμψαν 2 δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ἔνδεκα ἄνδρας Σπαρτιατῶν ξυμβούλους Ἀστυόχῳ, ὃν εἰς ἦν Λίχας ὁ Ἀρκεσιλάου. καὶ εἴρητο αὐτοῖς ἐς Μίλητον ἀφικομένους τῶν τε ἄλλων ξυνεπιμελεῖσθαι ἢ μέλλει ἄριστα εἶναι, καὶ τὰς ναῦς ταύτας ἢ αὐτὰς ἢ πλείους ἢ καὶ 10 ἐλάσσους ἐς τὸν Ἑλλησποντον ὡς Φαρνάβαζον, ἦν δοκῇ, ἀποπέμ- πειν, Κλέαρχον τὸν Ῥαμφίου, ὃς ξυνέπλει, ἄρχοντα προστάξαντας, καὶ Ἀστυόχον, ἦν δοκῇ τοῖς ἔνδεκα ἀνδράσι, παύειν τῆς ναυαρχίας, Ἀντισθένη δὲ καθιστάναι· πρὸς γὰρ τὰς τοῦ Πεδαρίτου ἐπιστολάς 15 ὑπώπτευον αὐτόν. πλέουσai οὖν αἱ νῆες ἀπὸ Μαλέας πελάγαι 3 Μήλῳ προσέβαλον, καὶ περιτυχόντες ναυσὶ δέκα Ἀθηναίων τὰς

5. ἐπλει AC etc. 15. προσέβαλλον B.

cc. 39—43. Twenty-seven ships are sent from the Peloponnese to Ionia, with the Hellepont for their ultimate destination. They bring eleven commissioners to examine the conduct of Astyochus in refusing to help the Chians. Astyochus hears of their arrival at Caunus just as he is about to start for the relief of Chios. He at once goes thither and effects a junction with them. The combined force proceeds to Cnidos.

2. ὑπὸ Καλλιγείτου] ὑπό is inappropriate to the sense, and can hardly be retained if ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων is genuine. But ἀπό would suit very well. The phrase ἀπό τινος πρᾶσσεσθαι is common (cp. iv, 76, 2. vi, 61, 1), and ἀπό τινος πρᾶσσοντος παρασκευάζεσθαι would be a quite possible variation. (Poppo suggests ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων, and retains the first ὑπό; Stahl brackets it.) For the fact cp. c. 6, 1. 8, 1.

4. περὶ ἡλίου τροπᾶς] The winter solstice, Dec. 21.—ἐπέπλει: 'was on board'. cp. ii, 66, 2 ἐπέπλεον Λακεδαιμονίων χίλιοι ὀπλῖται καὶ Κρήμος Σπαρτιάτης ναύαρχος.—ξυμβούλους Ἀστυόχῳ:

'as in the case of Cnemus ii, 85, 1; of Alcidas iii, 76; and again of Agis v, 63, 4'. Arn.

8. ξυνεπιμελεῖσθαι] v. Stahl *Quaest. Gram.* p. 66. Thuc. always has μεταμέλεσθαι, and in vi, 54, 6. vii, 39, 2 ἐπιμελεσθαι. On the strength of this Stahl would correct ἐπιμελεῖσθαι to ἐπιμελεσθαι in iv, 118, 3. vi, 91, 5. vii, 8, 3, and here. But the two forms are found side by side in inscriptions, and actually occur in the same decree; v. Reinach, *Épig. Grecque*, p. 238. It seems simplest therefore to follow the almost unanimous authority of the mss.

12. ἦν δοκῇ τοῖς ἔνδεκα ἀνδράσι] Stahl brackets τοῖς ἔνδεκα ἀνδράσι, and the words are certainly unnecessary. But both from this phrase, and from the formal expression ἢ αὐτὰς ἢ πλείους ἢ καὶ ἐλάσσους, it seems not improbable that Thuc. had before him the actual wording of their instructions, and incorporated some phrases in the text.

15. Μήλῳ] Melos was colonized by the Lacedaemonians, and remained neutral at the beginning of the war. It was

τρέις λαμβάνουσι κενὰς καὶ κατακάουσι. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο δεδιότες μὴ αἱ διαφυγούσαι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐκ τῆς Μήλου νῆες, ὅπερ ἐγένετο, μηνύσωσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ τὸν ἐπίπλουν αὐτῶν, πρὸς τὴν Κρήτην πλεύσαντες καὶ πλείω τὸν πλοῦν διὰ φυλακῆς ποι- 4 ῆσάμενοι ἐς τὴν Καῦνον τῆς Ἀσίας κατῆραν. ἐντεῦθεν δὴ, ὡς ἐν 5 ἀσφαλεῖ ὄντες, ἀγγελίαν ἔπεμπον ἐπὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῳ ναῦς τοῦ ξυμπαρακομισθῆναι.

XL. Οἱ δὲ Χίοι καὶ Πεδάριτος κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον οὐδὲν ῆσσαν, καίπερ διαμέλλοντα, τὸν Ἀστυόχον πέμποντες ἀγγέλους ἥξιουν σφίσι πολιορκουμένοις βοηθῆσαι ἀπάσαις ταῖς ναυσὶ καὶ 10 μὴ περιδεῖν τὴν μεγίστην τῶν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ ξυμμαχίδων πόλεων ἔκ 2 τε θαλάσσης εἰργομένην καὶ κατὰ γῆν ληστέiais πορθουμένην. οἱ γὰρ οἰκέται τοῖς Χίοις πολλοὶ ὄντες καὶ μῖᾱ γε πόλει πλὴν

1. B omits κενὰς. 2. B omits αἱ. 3. νῆσφ for Σάμῳ AC etc. 6. τὰς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ναῦς χάριν τοῦ ξυμπ. B. 9. πέμψαντες B.

afterwards reduced and severely treated by the Athenians (v, 116).

3. πρὸς τὴν Κρήτην] 'towards Crete'. cp. vii, 25, 1 αἱ δὲ ἑνδεκα νῆες πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπλευσαν; where their object is not to land in Italy, but to look out for Athenian ships off the Italian coast.

4. πλείω τὸν πλοῦν διὰ φυλακῆς ποιησάμενοι] This is a mixture of the two phrases πλείω τὸν πλοῦν ποιησάμενοι (cp. iii, 69, 2 πλέον τὸ ναυτικὸν ποιήσαντες, and vi, 46, 3), and τὸν πλοῦν διὰ φυλακῆς ποιησάμενοι (cp. vii, 8, 3 διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχων. Isocr. 297, B δια βραχείων τοὺς λόγους ποιείσθαι). It means therefore, 'lengthening their voyage (and making it) cautiously'; not 'through caution lengthening their voyage'.

5. ἐς τὴν Καῦνον τῆς Ἀσίας κατῆραν] The suggestion to correct τῆς Ἀσίας to τῆς Καρίας seems to be founded on the assumption that the gen. in such phrases is simply meant to define more exactly the place first mentioned ('Caunus in Caria'). But this is not so. More frequently the gen. gives in general terms the country at which the arrival takes place, while the preceding name marks

the particular spot. In speaking of a voyage across the Aegean it is natural to say 'they put in to Asia at Caunus'. There is no need to mark the particular country in Asia, just as under similar circumstances, c. 14, 1, we have προσβαλόν- 10 τες πρῶτον Κωρύκῳ τῆς ἡπείρου, although in c. 33, 2 speaking of a movement from one part of Asia to another Thuc. says προσβαλὼν Κωρύκῳ τῆς Ἐρυθραίας. Caunus in the S.E. of Caria behind the Cnidian Peninsula is far out of their natural course, but they were driven southwards by fear of the Athenians.

6. τοῦ ξυμπαρακομισθῆναι] v. note on c. 14, 1.

11. ἐκ θαλάσσης εἰργομένην] cp. iii, 18, 5 ἡ Μυτιλήνη ἀμφοτέρωθεν καὶ ἐκ γῆς καὶ ἐκ θαλάσσης εἰργετο. viii, 56, 1 ἔκ τε γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἐπολιορκούντο. These passages show that εἰργομένην is used here absolutely, and that ἐκ θαλάσσης means 'by sea'. Classen apparently takes it to mean 'shut out from the sea', which according to Thucydides' usage would require the plain genitive without a preposition.

12. .οἱ γὰρ οἰκέται] Athenaeus (Bk.

Λακεδαιμονίων πλείστοι γενόμενοι καὶ ἅμα διὰ τὸ πλῆθος χαλε-  
 πωτέρως ἐν ταῖς ἀδικίαις κολαζόμενοι, ὥς ἡ στρατιὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων  
 βεβαίως ἔδοξε μετὰ τείχους ἰδρῦσθαι, εὐθὺς αὐτομολία τε ἐχώρησαν  
 οἱ πολλοὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ πλείστα κακὰ ἐπιστάμενοι τὴν  
 5 χάραν οὗτοι ἔδρασαν. ἔφασαν οὖν χρῆναι οἱ Χίοι, ἕως ἔτι ἐλπίς 3  
 καὶ δυνατὸν κωλύσαι, τειχιζόμενον τοῦ Δελφινίου καὶ ἀτελοῦς  
 ὄντος, καὶ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ ναυσὶν ἐρύματος μέζονος προσπερι-  
 βαλλομένου, βοηθῆσαι σφίσιν. ὁ δὲ Ἀστύοχος καίπερ οὐ δια-  
 νοούμενος διὰ τὴν τότε ἀπειλήν, ὥς ἑώρα καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους  
 10 προθύμους ὄντας, ὥρμητο ἐς τὸ βοηθεῖν.

XLII. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Καύνου παραγίνεται ἀγγελία ὅτι  
 αἱ ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι νῆες καὶ οἱ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ξύμβουλοι  
 πάρεσι· καὶ νομίσας πάντα ὕστερα εἶναι τὰλλα πρὸς τὸ ναῦς τε,  
 ὅπως θαλασσοκρατοῖεν μᾶλλον, τοσαύτας ξυμπακομίσαι καὶ

3. ἐχρήσαντο (for ἐχώρησαν) CG. (G is corrected to ἐχώρησαν by the first hand.)

vi, c. 103) has some surprising statements about the number of slaves at Athens, Aegina, and elsewhere, and Boeckh so far accepts his figures as to estimate the Athenian slaves at well over 300,000 out of a total population of about 500,000. Theopompus (quoted by Ath. vi, 88) says that the Chians were among the earliest Hellenic employers of slave labour.—**μὰ γὰρ πόλει πλὴν Λακεδαιμονίων**: not πλὴν Λακεδαιμονίων τῆς πόλεως (though the phrase ἡ Λακεδαιμονίων πόλις is quite regular; cp. vii, 56, 4. viii, 5, 3), but used loosely for 'except in the case of the Lacedaemonians', like πλὴν τῶν Συρακοσίων, c. 45, 3.

1. **χαλεπωτέρως**] cp. ii, 50, 1 χαλεπωτέρως ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρωπείαν φύσιν, which more fully expresses the sense of the word here.—**ἐν ταῖς ἀδικίαις**: ἐν = 'on occasion of', cp. ii, 44, 2 ὣν καὶ πολλάκις ἔξετε ὑπομνήματα ἐν ἄλλων εὐτυχίαις. It is not necessary to correct (with Herwerden) to ἐπι.

3. **μετὰ τείχους ἰδρῦσθαι**] i.e. at Delphinium (c. 38, 2). The slaves would not desert till there was a permanent settlement of the Athenians, because they could hardly expect to be taken off in

the ships, and would therefore be left to the vengeance of the Chians if the Athenians withdrew.—**αὐτομολία ἐχώρησαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς**: Class. compares *προσβεῖα ἵεναι* i, 90, 1. *χωρεῖν πρὸς τινα* is common in the sense of 'going over to'; cp. v, 43, 2. vii, 14, 3.

6. **τειχιζόμενον καὶ ἀτελοῦς ὄντος**] ἀτελοῦς ὄντος (as καὶ shows) is not contrasted, but only explains more clearly the force of the present participles *τειχιζόμενον* and *προσπεριβαλλομένου*, 'while it was still being fortified'.

9. **τὴν τότε ἀπειλήν**] viz. c. 33, 1 ἢ μὴν μὴ ἐπιβοηθήσειν, ἣν τι δέονται.

13. **πάντα ὕστερα εἶναι**] cp. Plato, *Legg.* 697, c ἢ τι τῶν ὑστέρων εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν τιμαῖς τάττουσα.—**καὶ τοὺς Λακ. περαιωθῆναι**: this is included under the construction of *πρὸς τὸ*... The commissioners, though they have actually 'crossed', have not yet joined Astyochus, and *περαιωθῆναι* must apply to the whole passage from home to the head quarters in Asia.—The phrase *τὸ ἐς τὴν Χίον* would be intelligible by itself, but it is perhaps less harsh to supply *πλεῖν* from the following *ἐπλεε*. cp. vi, 17, 2 τὸν ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν πλοῦν μὴ μεταγινώσκετε.

τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, οἳ ἦκον κατάσκοποι αὐτοῦ, ἀσφαλῶς περαιω-  
 2 θῆναι, εὐθὺς ἀφίει τὸ ἐς τὴν Χίον ἔπλει ἐς τὴν Καῦνον. καὶ ἐς  
 Κῶν τὴν Μεροπίδα ἐν τῷ παράπλῳ ἀποβάς τὴν τε πόλιν ἀτεί-  
 χιστον οὖσαν καὶ ὑπὸ σεισμοῦ, ὃς αὐτοῖς ἔτυχε μέγιστός γε δὴ ὦν  
 μεμνήμεθα γενόμενος, ξυμπεπτωκυῖαν ἐκπορθεῖ, τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐς 5  
 τὰ ὄρη πεφευγόντων, καὶ τὴν χώραν καταδρομαῖς λείαν ἐποιεῖτο,  
 3 πλὴν τῶν ἐλευθέρων, τούτους δὲ ἠφίει. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Κῶ ἀφικόμενος  
 ἐς τὴν Κνίδον νυκτὸς ἀναγκάζεται ὑπὸ τῶν Κνιδίων παραινούντων  
 μὴ ἐκβιβάσαι τοὺς ναύτας, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ εἶχε πλεῖν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὰς  
 τῶν Ἀθηναίων ναῦς εἰκοσιν, ἃς ἔχων Χαρμῖνος, εἰς τῶν ἐκ Σάμου 10  
 στρατηγῶν, ἐφύλασσε ταύτας τὰς ἑπτὰ καὶ εἰκοσι ναῦς ἐκ τῆς  
 Πελοποννήσου προσπλευούσας, ἐφ' ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ Ἀστύοχος παρέ-  
 4 πλει. ἐπύθοντο δὲ οἱ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ ἐκ τῆς Μήλου τὸν ἐπίπλουν  
 αὐτῶν, καὶ ἡ φυλακὴ τῷ Χαρμῖνι περὶ τὴν Σύμην καὶ Χάλκην καὶ  
 Ῥόδον καὶ περὶ τὴν Λυκίαν ἦν· ἥδη γὰρ ἦσθάνετο καὶ ἐν τῇ 15  
 Καύνῳ οὖσας αὐτάς.

XLII. Ἐπέπλει οὖν ὥσπερ εἶχε πρὸς τὴν Σύμην ὁ Ἀστύοχος  
 πρὶν ἔκπυστος γενέσθαι, εἴ πως περιλάβοι που μετεώρους τὰς  
 ναῦς. καὶ αὐτῷ ὑετός τε καὶ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ξυννέφελα ὄντα

7. ἀφίει MSS. In ii, 49, 2 all the MSS. give ἠφίει; in iv, 122, 3 all the good  
 MSS. give ἀφίει as here. But it should be corrected. For other instances *v.* Veitch,  
*Gr. verbs.*

3. Κῶν τὴν Μεροπίδα] Meropis was the older name of Cos which was commonly added in speaking of it.

4. μέγιστός γε δὴ] δὴ is constantly added to strengthen comparatives and superlatives, and is especially frequent after μέγιστος. Classen quotes Plato, *Soph.* 237, B μάλιστα γε δὴ πάντων. The different varieties of emphasis which γε δὴ gives in Thuc. can hardly be understood without comparing the passages where it occurs. They are i, 11, 3. 132, 5. ii, 62, 1. iv, 78, 2. 92, 4. vi, 37, 2. vii, 56, 4. 71, 5.

6. τὴν χώραν λείαν ἐποιεῖτο] cp. c. 62, 2 ἀνδράποδα ἀρπαγὴν ποιησάμενος. λεία is properly 'booty' as distinct from captives (cp. ii, 94, 3 ἀνθρώπους καὶ λείαν λαβόντες). Here λείαν ποιεῖσθαι=λητ-  
 ῖεσθαι.

8. ἀναγκάζεται] 'he is induced'. Poppo compares iv, 59, 2; add iii, 71, 1. —ἃς ἔχων Χαρμῖνος: Charminus was expecting the Peloponnesians to come straight across from Melos (*v.* c. 39, 3), but as they avoided him and got safely to Caunus he was now trying to prevent their joining Astyochus.—ἐφ' ὥσπερ: cp. c. 11, 2 βοηθοῦντες ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς.

15. ἦσθάνετο καὶ ἐν τῇ Καύνῳ οὖσας] 'he had learnt further that they were at Caunus'; i.e. besides the general fact of their arrival (τὸν ἐπίπλουν αὐτῶν), he learnt their actual position.

17. πρὸς τὴν Σύμην] 'towards Syme'; cp. c. 39, 3, and note.—περιλάβοι: the word does not occur elsewhere in Thuc., who uses περικλήειν in this sense. But cp. Herod. v, 23. viii, 106.

19. τὰ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ] Classen and



πλάνησιν τῶν νεῶν ἐν τῇ σκότει καὶ ταραχὴν παρέσχευ. καὶ ἅμα 2  
 τῇ ἔφ, διεσπασμένου τοῦ ναυτικοῦ, καὶ τοῦ μὲν φανεροῦ ἤδη ὄντος  
 τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τοῦ εὐωνύμου κέρως, τοῦ δὲ ἄλλου περὶ τὴν νῆσον  
 ἔτι πλανωμένοι, ἐπανάγονται κατὰ τάχος ὁ Χαρμίνος καὶ οἱ  
 5 Ἀθηναῖοι ἐλάσσοσιν ἢ ταῖς εἴκοσι ναυσὶ νομίσαντες ὥσπερ  
 ἐφύλασσαν ναῦς τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς Καύνου ταύτας εἶναι. καὶ προσ- 3  
 πεσόντες εὐθὺς κατέδυσάν τε τρεῖς καὶ κατετραυμάτισαν ἄλλας,  
 καὶ ἐν τῇ ἔργῳ ἐπεκράτουν, μέχρι οὐ ἐπεφάνησαν αὐτοῖς παρὰ  
 δόξαν αἱ πλείους τῶν νεῶν καὶ πανταχόθεν ἀπεκλήροντο. ἔπειτα 4  
 10 δὲ ἐς φυγὴν καταστάντες θξ μὲν ναῦς ἀπολλύασι, ταῖς δὲ λοιπαῖς  
 καταφεύγουσιν ἐς τὴν Τευτλοῦσσαν νῆσον, ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐς Ἀλικάρ-  
 νασόν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο οἱ μὲν Πελοποννήσιοι ἐς Κνίδον κατάραντες 5  
 καὶ ξυμμιγείσων τῶν ἐκ τῆς Καύνου ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι νεῶν αὐτοῖς

2. ὄντος ἤδη B. 11. τευγλουσσαν C. τεύγλουσσαν EFGM. τέγλουσσαν A.  
 τε γλούσσαν B. Stephanus gives τεύτλουσσα, Pliny Seutlusa.

Stahl regard this as proleptic, but the epithet *ξυνέφελα* applies rather to the sky itself than to what comes from it, and τὰ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ can perfectly well mean 'the heavens' (literally 'the skyward regions'). cp. ἐκ τῆς γῆς 'on the land side' c. 38, 2, and note.

3. τοῦ δὲ ἄλλου περὶ τὴν νῆσον ἔτι πλανωμένοι] τοῦ δὲ ἄλλου is contrasted with τοῦ μὲν, not directly with τοῦ εὐωνύμου κέρως, so that the meaning is not τοῦ δὲ ἄλλου [κέρως]. τὸ ἄλλο must include all the rest of the force except the left wing, and is practically a substantive, as in c. 25, 4 ὡς ἐώρων τὸ ἄλλο σφῶν ἡσώμενον. cp. also iv, 96, 2. v, 3, 4. viii, 55, 3. The Lacedaemonians must have been approaching the Athenians approximately from the direction of Caunus, i.e. from the S.E., because (1) they are mistaken for the ships from Caunus, (2) the Athenians subsequently fly to the N.W. It seems clear from c. 43, 1, that the Athenian squadron was posted at the island of Syme (where they left their σκείη), doubtless somewhere on the S. coast. But if the left wing of the Lacedaemonians appeared between the Athenians and Caunus while the rest of the force

had lost its way around the island, it will be seen from the map that the Lacedaemonians must have come round the *inside* of Syme, the right wing lagging behind and feeling its way along the coast. Had they sailed straight across from Cnidus, not only would they have driven the Athenians southwards, but the right wing would have been out at sea when the left was sighted from the Athenian station.

11. τὴν Τευτλοῦσσαν νῆσον] The regular order would be Τευτλοῦσσαν τὴν νῆσον; cp. i, 109, 4. ii, 30, 2. I can find no other instance of this reversal in Thuc. Neither the position of Teutloussa, nor the proper form of the name, is certain. It is with reference to this defeat off Syme that Aristophanes rallies Charminus; v. *Thesmoph.* 804 Ναυσιμάχης μὲν γ' ἤττων ἐστὶ Χαρμίνος.

13. ξυμμιγείσων αὐτοῖς] Thuc. uses indifferently the active (intrans.) and the passive of this verb in the friendly sense of 'joining forces'; cp. ii, 31, 1. iii, 110, 1. vii, 26, 1. But in the hostile sense of 'engaging at close quarters' he employs the active only. In the present tense he always has ξυμίσγειν.

ξυμπάσαις πλεύσαντες καὶ τροπαῖον ἐν τῇ Σύμῃ στήσαντες πάλιν ἐς τὴν Κνίδον καθωρμίσαντο.

XLIII. Οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ταῖς ἐκ τῆς Σάμου ναυσὶ πάσαις, ὥς ἔσθοντο τὰ τῆς ναυμαχίας, πλεύσαντες ἐς τὴν Σύμην καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ ἐν τῇ Κνίδῳ ναυτικὸν οὐχ ὀρμήσαντες, οὐδ' ἐκεῖνοι ἐπ' ἐκείνους, 5 λαβόντες δὲ τὰ ἐν τῇ Σύμῃ σκευὴ τῶν νεῶν καὶ Λαυρύμοις τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ προσβαλόντες, ἀπέπλευσαν ἐς τὴν Σάμον.

- 2 Ἀπασαι δ' ἤδη οὖσαι ἅμα ἐν τῇ Κνίδῳ αἱ τῶν Πελοποννησίων νῆες ἐπεσκευάζοντό τε εἴ τι ἔδει, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Τισσαφέρην (παρεγένετο γάρ) λόγους ἐποιοῦντο οἱ ἑνδεκα ἄνδρες τῶν Λακε- 10 δαιμονίων περὶ τε τῶν ἤδη πεπραγμένων, εἴ τι μὴ ἤρεσκεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος πολέμου, ὅτῳ τρόπῳ ἄριστα καὶ ξυμφο- 3 ρώτατα ἀμφοτέροις πολεμήσεται. μάλιστα δὲ ὁ Λίχας ἐσκοπεῖ

4. πλεύσαντες καὶ τροπαῖον ἐν τῇ σύμῃ στήσαντες ἀπῆλθον λαβόντες Μ. 7. προσ- πλεύσαντες for προσβαλόντες B. 8. AC etc. omit ἅμα.

1. τροπαῖον ἐν τῇ Σύμῃ στήσαντες] Ross (*Inseln des äj. Meeres* iii, 125) says that 10 minutes east of the acropolis of Syme he found the remains of a monument which according to the tradition of the inhabitants was a trophy, but which must, as he suggests, have been a tumulus. The tradition however is interesting, and probably had some foundation.—πάλιν: 'back again'; used here of direction not of time: cp. c. 92, 3, and note.

cc. 43—45. Disputes between the Peloponnesians and Tissaphernes about the terms of the treaty. The whole Peloponnesian force moves southwards to Rhodes, which revolts from Athens. The Athenian fleet arrives too late to prevent the revolt, and harasses Rhodes from Chalce. Prolonged inactivity of the Peloponnesians.

4. τὰ τῆς ναυμαχίας] 'the fortunes of the sea-fight'; cp. vii, 38, 2 ἰδὼν ἀντίπαλα τὰ τῆς ναυμαχίας γενόμενα.—οὐδ' ἐκεῖνοι ἐπ' ἐκείνους: The words are parenthetical and outside the construction, but perfectly intelligible, and there is no need to suppose that Thuc. had either ὥρμησαν or any other definite method of conforming to grammatical

rules in his mind.

6. τὰ σκευὴ τῶν νεῶν] This refers to the ships under Charminus, which had left their masts sails &c. on shore when they put out against Astyochus. It has been suggested that ἐν τῇ Σύμῃ may mean in the town of Syme, which appears to have been situated at the end of a deep narrow bay on the E. side of the island (v. Ross, *Ins. des ä. M.* iii, 121), but this would have been a very unsuitable position from which to watch Caunus, and πλεύσαντες ἐς τὴν Σύμην just before clearly means to the island. Loryma is a town on the inner side of the promontory of Cynossema, upon the mainland nearly due east of Syme.

8. ἀπασαι δ' ἤδη οὖσαι ἅμα] Though B alone gives ἅμα it seems appropriate. οὖσαι ἅμα means 'being united', like ἅμα γενόμενοι iv, 30, 4. cp. also iv, 124, 1. Classen calculates from the previous narrative that the total number is 116.

13. ἐσκοπεῖν] σκοπεῖν is similarly used of unfavourable criticism in v, 42, 2. For the differences between the treaties of Chalceus and of Therimenes v. note on c. 37.

τὰ ποιούμενα, καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς οὐδετέρας, οὔτε τὰς Χαλκιδέως οὔτε τὰς Θηριμένους, ἔφη καλῶς ξυγκείσθαι, ἀλλὰ δεινὸν εἶναι εἰ χώρας ὅσης βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι ἤρξαν πρότερον, ταύτης καὶ νῦν ἀξιώσει κρατεῖν· ἐνείναι γὰρ καὶ νήσους ἀπάσας πάλιν δουλεύειν 5 καὶ Θεσσαλίαν καὶ Λοκροὺς καὶ τὰ μέχρι Βοιωτῶν· καὶ ἀντ' ἐλευθερίας ἂν Μηδικὴν ἀρχὴν τοῖς Ἑλλησι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους περιθεῖναι. ἑτέρας οὖν ἐκέλευε βελτίους σπένδεσθαι, ἢ ταύταις 4 γε οὐ χρῆσθαι, οὐδὲ τῆς τροφῆς ἐπὶ τούτοις δεῖσθαι οὐδέν. ἀγανακτῶν δὲ ὁ μὲν Τισσαφέρνης ἀπεχώρησεν ἀπ' αὐτῶν δι' ὀργῆς 10 καὶ ἀπρακτος.

XLIV. Οἱ δ' ἐς τὴν Ῥόδον, ἐπικηρυκευομένων ἀπὸ τῶν δυνατωτάτων ἀνδρῶν, τὴν γνώμην εἶχον πλεῖν, ἐλπίζοντες νήσόν

1. Χαλκιδέως οὔτε τὰς has fallen out in AC etc. 3. χώρας ἧς AEF. ὅσης G (both first hand). 4. ἐνὴν MSS. ἐνείναι Bekk., Poppo, Stahl. 7. σπένδεσθαι ξυνθήκας B. 11. ἐπικηρυκευόμενοι B.

4. ἐνείναι γάρ] The MSS. reading ἐνὴν would make the following words a comment by Thucydides, which though possible would be very awkward with the infinitive περιθεῖναι immediately following. It is more probable that Lichas is the speaker throughout. For ἐνείναι in the sense 'to be involved' cp. iv, 20, *ad fin.*, and 59, 2. Aristoph. *Clouds*, 1072.

νήσους ἀπάσας] The article is omitted because νῆσοι used collectively of the island states is regarded almost as the name of a country, and may therefore stand without the article, as (*s.g.*) in v, 32, 3 we have ἄσσαν ἂν ἔχειν Πελοπόννησον. Similarly in vii, 57, 4 ἀπὸ νήσων is parallel with ἀπ' Εὐβοίας and ἐκ δ' Ἰωνίας. For the fact cp. i, 16 Δαρεῖος δὲ ὕστερον τῷ Φονίκῳ ναυτικῷ κρατῶν καὶ τὰς νήσους.

7. ἢ ταύταις γε οὐ χρῆσθαι] 'or at least (he declared) he would not abide by these (conditions)'. cp. χρῆσθαι τοῖς πατρίοις νόμοις, iv, 118, 3. vi, 54, 6.—οὐδὲ ...δεῖσθαι οὐδέν: for οὐδέν as an emphatic negative in this position cp. ii, 29, 3. With προσδεῖσθαι no other form of the negative than οὐδέν is used by Thuc.; cp.

i, 77, 2. 102, 3. ii, 41, 4. viii, 64, 3.

11. ἐπικηρυκευομένων ... ἀνδρῶν] I think Dobree's explanation (followed by Stahl) is right, *viz.* that ἀνδρῶν goes with ἐπικηρυκευομένων not with δυνατωτάτων, and that ἀπὸ τῶν δυν. means 'from among the number of' the δυνατώτατοι. Thucydides often uses ἄνδρες for τινές (cp. i, 107, 4. ii, 2, 2), and ἀπὸ has very much the sense we require in iii, 24, 2 ἄνδρες δώδεκα καὶ διακόσιοι ἀπὸ πλειόνων (cp. also i, 110, 1. vii, 30, 2). Thus understood the expression is not unlike ἡγουμένων ἀνδρῶν οὐ τῶν ἀδυνατωτάτων i, 5, 1. Classen's view however is that ἀπὸ must here denote origin or agency as in c. 14, 2. iv, 76, 2. vi, 28, 1. &c. He therefore supposes ἐπικηρυκευομένων to be a neuter passive, used impersonally like ἐσαγγελθέντων i, 116, 3. This seems open to far more serious objection than the other way of taking the words. It is possible that there may be some corruption, but B's conjecture ἐπικηρυκευόμενοι (pass.) cannot stand, as there is no authority for this pass. use, and ἐπικηρυκεῖσθαι governs a dative.

12. νήσόν τε οὐκ ἀδύνατον κ.τ.λ.]

- τε οὐκ ἀδύνατον καὶ ναυβατῶν πλήθει καὶ πεζῶ προσάξεισθαι, καὶ ἅμα ἡγούμενοι αὐτοὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ξυμμαχίας δυνατοὶ ἔσεσθαι, Τισσαφέρην μὴ αἰτοῦντες χρήματα, τρέφειν τὰς ναῦς.
- 2 πλεύσαντες οὖν εὐθὺς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χειμῶνι ἐκ τῆς Κνίδου, καὶ προσβαλόντες Καμείρῳ τῆς Ῥοδίας πρῶτον ναυσὶ τέσσαρσι καὶ 5 ἐνεηκόντα, ἐξεφόβησαν μὲν τοὺς πολλοὺς οὐκ εἰδότας τὰ πρᾶσσόμενα, καὶ ἔφευγον, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἀτειχίστου οὔσης τῆς πόλεως· εἶτα ξυγκαλέσαντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τούτους τε καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τοῖν δυοῖν πολέων, Λίνδου καὶ Ἰηλυσοῦ, Ῥοδίους ἔπεισαν ἀποστήναι
- 3 Ἀθηναίων. καὶ προσεχώρησε Ῥόδος Πελοποννησίοις. οἱ δὲ 10 Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ταῖς ἐκ τῆς Σάμου ναυσὶν αἰσθόμενοι ἔπλευσαν μὲν βουλόμενοι φθάσαι καὶ ἐπεφάνησαν πελάγιοι, ὕστερήσαντες δὲ οὐ πολλῷ τὸ μὲν παραχρήμα ἀπέπλευσαν ἐς Χάλκην, ἐντεύθεν δ' ἐς Σάμον, ὕστερον δὲ ἐκ τῆς Χάλκης καὶ ἐκ τῆς Κῶ [καὶ ἐκ τῆς Σάμου] τοὺς ἐπίπλους ποιού- 15

5. πρὸς τὴν for πρῶτον AC etc. 7. ἔφευγον B (the imperf. seems best as the flight was soon stopped). 8. τούτους τε οἱ λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ B. 12. ἐφάνησαν AC etc.

Though Rhodes was a great naval power in the 9th century B.C. she does not appear to have had either a naval or a land force of any importance at this time. At the beginning of the Peloponnesian war she was paying tribute to Athens, and she supplied 2 penteconters and 700 slingers for the Sicilian expedition (vi, 43). But her wealth is shown by the contribution now exacted by the Lacedaemonians of 32 talents (about £7680). The oligarchical party had been expelled by the Athenians at the beginning of the war. v. note to c. 35, 1.

5. προσβαλόντες Καμείρῳ τῆς Ῥοδίας πρῶτον] 'Putting in to Rhodes first at Camirus'. cp. c. 14, 1 προσβαλόντες πρῶτον Κωρύκῃ τῆς ἡπείρου. For Camirus see below on Λίνδου καὶ Ἰηλυσοῦ.

8. εἶτα] The word is rare in Thuc. (only i, 35, 3. iv, 58. v, 65, 5), and, except in i, 35, 3, is used of mere sequence in point of time, without implying consequence or connexion as commonly in

the tragedians &c.

9. Λίνδου καὶ Ἰηλυσοῦ] Lindus, Ialysus and Camirus were the three governing cities of Rhodes till 408 B.C. when they all joined in founding the city of Rhodes, and surrendered to it the supremacy over the whole island. Lindus is near the middle of the E. coast of the island between two bays which form natural harbours. Ialysus and Camirus are on the W. coast about 9 and 20 miles respectively from the north end. For full information as to ancient Rhodes v. Cecil Torr, *Rhodes in Ancient Times*, Camb. 1885.

12. ἐπεφάνησαν] cp. c. 42, 3. Stahl objects that ἐπιφαινεσθαι is inappropriate as they did not attack, but the word may suit any threatening appearance. Chalce is nearly opposite Camirus, about 5 miles off.

15. καὶ ἐκ τῆς Σάμου] These words, like the curiously similar καὶ ἐκ τῆς Λέσβου c. 24, 2, cannot be genuine (1) because Samos is more than 100 miles

μενοι ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥόδον ἐπολέμουν. οἱ δὲ χρήματα μὲν ἐξέλεξαν ἐς 4  
 δύο καὶ τριάκοντα τάλαντα οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι παρὰ τῶν Ῥοδίων,  
 τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἡσύχαζον ἡμέρας ὀγδοήκοντα, ἀνεκλύσαντες τὰς ναυς.

XLV. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ἔτι πρότερον, πρὶν ἐς τὴν Ῥόδον  
 5 αὐτοὺς ἀναστῆναι, τάδε ἐπράσσετο. Ἀλκιβιάδης μετὰ τὸν Χαλ-  
 κιδέως θάνατον καὶ τὴν ἐν Μιλήτῳ μάχην τοῖς Πελοποννησίοις  
 ὑποπτος ὢν, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀφικομένης ἐπιστολῆς πρὸς Ἀστυόχον  
 ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος ὥστ' ἀποκτεῖναι (ἦν γὰρ καὶ τῷ Ἀγιδι ἐχθρὸς καὶ  
 ἄλλως ἀπιστος ἐφαίνετο), πρῶτον μὲν ὑποχωρεῖ δέίσας παρὰ  
 10 Τισσαφέρνῃ, ἔπειτα ἐκάκου πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅσον ἐδύνατο μάλιστα τῶν  
 Πελοποννησίων τὰ πράγματα, καὶ διδάσκαλος πάντων γιγνόμενος 2

5. Ἀλκιβιάδης τε B. 8. AC etc. omit καὶ before τῷ Ἀγιδι.

distant, (2) because c. 55, 1 shows that Thuc. has no other base of operations in his mind than Cos and Chalce. Krüger suggests ἐκ τῆς Σάμης, but it seems more likely that the mention of Samos in the line before led to its insertion here.

1. ἐξέλεξαν] 'levied'. The word is used here only in Thuc. though it is common in the orators. The Peloponnesians remained at Rhodes during January, February, and part of March. Having broken with Tissaphernes they would probably have been unable to get supplies elsewhere; and no doubt their ships needed overhauling; cp. vii, 12, 3. This inaction came at a most fortunate time for the Athenians who were distracted by oligarchical intrigues; v. chronological chart in Introduction.

cc. 45—48. Alcibiades, being suspected by the Peloponnesians, takes refuge with Tissaphernes and persuades him to lower the rate of pay for the Peloponnesian fleet. He argues that it is to the king's interest to play off one side against the other, and not allow either to gain a decisive victory. Meanwhile he intrigues with the oligarchical party at Samos to procure his restoration, exaggerating his interest with Tissaphernes.

5. τὸν Χαλκιδέως θάνατον] v. c. 24, 1. There may have been some suspicion

that Alcibiades had been glad to get him out of the way, and be left in sole command. For the defeat before Miletus v. c. 25, 4 ff.

7. ἀπ' αὐτῶν... ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος] Similarly in vi, 75, 4 ἀπό is used of persons, ἐκ of place, ἀφικομένων οὖν ἐκ μὲν Συρακουσῶν Ἑρμοκράτους... ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων Εὐφύμου. But the distinction is not always observed.—ὥστ' ἀποκτεῖναι: ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀφικομένης ἐπιστολῆς is practically the same as ἐπιστελλάντων αὐτῶν (v. note on c. 38, 4), and ἐπιστελλεῖν ὥστε would be parallel with πείθειν ὥστε iii, 102, 5. ψηφίζεσθαι ὥστε vi, 88, 8. ἐθέλειν ὥστε Eur. Hipp. 1327.

8. τῷ Ἀγιδι ἐχθρὸς] cp. c. 12, 2, and note.—καὶ ἄλλως: 'and besides'. It implies no similarity or connexion between the two facts. cp. c. 38, 3, and note.

10. ἐκάκου πρὸς αὐτὸν] 'did them harm with Tissaphernes'. ἐκάκου must mean actually 'injured', not 'depreciated' or 'maligned'. The injury was done πρὸς τὸν Τισσαφέρνῃ 'in relation to Tissaphernes', i.e. by setting him against them.

11. διδάσκαλος πάντων γιγνόμενος] cp. v, 30, 1. διδάσκειν is frequent in this sense; cp. c. 45, 3. Thuc. is fond of resolving verbs into γίγνεσθαι with an

τήν τε μισθοφορὰν ξυνέτεμεν, ἀντὶ δραχμῆς Ἀττικῆς ὥστε τριώβολον, καὶ τοῦτο μὴ ξυνεχῶς, δίδοσθαι, λέγειν κελεύων τὸν Τισσαφέρην πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ πλείονος χρόνου ἐπιστήμονες ὄντες τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τριώβολον τοῖς ἑαυτῶν διδῶσιν \*\*, οὐ τοσοῦτον πενία ὅσον ἵνα αὐτῶν μὴ οἱ ναῦται, ἐκ περιουσίας 5 ὑβρίζοντες, οἱ μὲν τὰ σώματα χεῖρῳ ἔχῃσι, δαπανῶντες ἐς τοιαῦτα ἀφ' ὧν ἡ ἀσθένεια ξυμβαίνει, οἱ δὲ τὰς ναῦς ἀπολείπουσιν οὐχ ὑπολιπόντες ἐς ὀμηρεῖαν τὸν προσοφειλόμενον μισθόν· 3 καὶ τοὺς τριηράρχους καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς τῶν πόλεων ἐδίδα-

4. 'exciderunt καὶ τοῦτ' οὐ ξυνεχῶς vel eiusdem sententiae verba. cf. symb. phil. Bonn 394'. Stahl. οὐ ξυνεχῶς is more likely to have fallen out; v. note. 7. ACEFM omit ἀπολείπουσιν οὐχ, and give ἀπολιπόντες for ὑπολιπόντες. G is here damaged but appears to agree with AC etc. A marg. (later hand) omits οὐχ. Valla has dum...non relinquere. 8. ὀμηρεῖαν AEFM.

attributive substantive, e.g. μηνυτῆς γίγν. iii, 2, 3. viii, 50, 3. κωλυτῆς γίγν. v; 9, 9. viii, 86, 4. προδότης γίγν. iii, 40, 6.

2. μὴ ξυνεχῶς] cp. c. 78, and 83, 3. In lump payments at irregular times, instead of day by day.

4. τριώβολον τοῖς ἑαυτῶν διδῶσιν] In the following clause the words ἵνα μὴ οἱ μὲν τὰ σώματα κ.τ.λ. clearly refer to the pay being at the lower rate of 3 obols (and to this clause only ἐκ περιουσίας ὑβρίζοντες properly applies), whereas οἱ δὲ τὰς ναῦς (μὴ) ἀπολείπουσιν as clearly refers only to the irregularity of the pay. It has been suggested therefore that some words alluding to this irregularity must have fallen out after διδῶσιν (e.g. καὶ τοῦτ' οὐ ξυνεχῶς). I see no means of avoiding this conclusion, but some explanation must be offered of the omission of the words in question. If the original reading was simply διδῶσιν οὐ ξυνεχῶς, οὐ τοσοῦτον κ.τ.λ. there would be no difficulty about this. Not one of the MSS. is free from omissions due to the writer's eye passing involuntarily from the first occurrence of a word to the second in the immediate context. Classen quotes Polyae. iii, 9, 51 ἐν τῇ δώσει τοῦ μισθοῦ καθ' ἕκαστον μῆνα ὑφαίρων τὸ τέταρτον μέρος ὥσπερ ἐνέχυρον ἐκάστου κατέχων, ἵνα

μὴ λίποιεν τὸ στρατόπεδον. It is not strictly true that the Athenians always gave 3 obols. The crews serving at Potidaea (iii, 17, 3), and those that went on the Sicilian expedition (vi, 31, 3), received a drachma.

6. τὰ σώματα χεῖρῳ ἔχῃσι] This is a favourite construction with Thuc.; cp. iii, 82, 2 ἀμείνους τὰς γνώμας ἔχουσι; vi, 34, 5 τὰ τῶν πόλεων οὐκ ἂν βέβαια ἔχοντες; vii, 36, 3, &c. χεῖρον (Cobet's conjecture) is contrary to Thucydides' usage.

8. οὐχ ὑπολιπόντες] The fact that ἀπολείπουσιν οὐχ is omitted in the majority of the MSS. (owing to the similarity of ἀπολείπ- and ὑπολιπ-) is no argument against the genuineness of οὐχ in itself. As a direct assertion the clause would run τὰς ναῦς ἀπολείπουσιν οὐχ ὑπολιπόντες, 'they desert as they can do so without having to leave behind &c.' The whole of this as it stands is negated by ἵνα μὴ, 'to prevent their deserting, by forcing deserters to leave behind their arrears of pay in pledge'.

9. καὶ τοὺς τριηράρχους κ.τ.λ.] The construction is ἐδίδασκε τὸν Τισσ. ὥστε δόντα χρήματα αὐτὸν (τὸν Τισσ.) πείσαι τοὺς τριηράρχους ὥστε ἐνγχωρῆσαι ταῦτα ἑαυτῷ. For διδάσκειν, πείθειν, ὥστε, cp. § 1 ὥστε ἀποκτείνειν, and note.

σκεν ὥστε δόντα χρήματα αὐτὸν πείσαι ὥστε ξυγχωρῆσαι ταῦτα  
 ἑαυτῷ, πλὴν τῶν Συρακοσίων· τούτων δὲ Ἑρμοκράτης ἡναντιοῦτο  
 μόνος ὑπὲρ τοῦ παντὸς ξυμμαχικοῦ. τὰς τε πόλεις δεομένας 4  
 χρημάτων ἀπῆλασεν, αὐτὸς ἀντιλέγων ὑπὲρ τοῦ Τισσαφέρους ὡς  
 5 οἱ μὲν Χίοι ἀναίσχυντοι εἶεν, πλουσιώτατοι ὄντες τῶν Ἑλλήνων,  
 ἐπικουρία δὲ ὅμως σφζόμενοι ἀξιούσι καὶ τοῖς σώμασι καὶ τοῖς  
 χρήμασιν ἄλλους ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνων ἐλευθερίας κινδυνεύειν· τὰς δ' 5  
 ἄλλας πόλεις ἔφη ἀδικεῖν, αἱ ἐς Ἀθηναίους πρότερον ἢ ἀποστῆναι  
 ἀνήλουν, εἰ μὴ καὶ νῦν τοσαῦτα καὶ ἔτι πλείω ὑπὲρ σφῶν αὐτῶν  
 10 ἐθελήσουσιν ἐσφέρειν. τὸν τε Τισσαφέρην ἀπέβαινε νῦν μὲν, τοῖς 6  
 ἰδίοις χρήμασι πολεμοῦντα, εἰκότως φειδόμενον, ἦν δέ ποτε τροφή  
 καταβῆ παρὰ βασιλέως, ἐντελὴ αὐτοῖς ἀποδώσειν τὸν μισθὸν καὶ  
 τὰς πόλεις τὰ εἰκότα ὠφελήσειν.

XLVI. Παρήνει δὲ καὶ τῷ Τισσαφέρνει μὴ ἄγαν ἐπείγεσθαι  
 15 διαλύσαι τὸν πόλεμον, μηδὲ βουληθῆναι κομίσαντα ἢ ναὺς Φοι-  
 νίσσας ἄσπερ παρεσκευάζετο ἢ Ἑλλῃσι πλείοσι μισθὸν πορίζοντα

2. ἔρμοκράτης στρατηγὸς ὢν B; but that has already been mentioned in c. 29, 2.  
 ἔρμοκράτης τε AC etc. 3. B omits μόνος. 5. ἀναισχυντοῖεν ei Madv. (in order  
 to get rid of the awkward transition from the participle to the indic. in ἀξιούσι). But  
 v. note. 7. ACEFM omit τῆς after ὑπὲρ. 8. B alone gives ἢ before  
 ἀποστῆναι. 15. τὸν πόλεμον διαλύσαι AC etc. (διαλύσαι AEF). 16. μελλήσει  
 for ἢ Ἑλλῃσι AC etc. (A has ἢ Ἑλλῃσι in a later hand).

2. πλὴν τῶν Συρακοσίων] The ar-  
 rangement of the sentence seems to show  
 that this does not mean πλὴν τοῦ στρατη-  
 γοῦ τῶν Συρ. but is a loose phrase for  
 'except in the case of the Syracusans';  
 cp. c. 40, 2 πλὴν Λακεδαιμονίων. Stahl  
 remarks on these words, '*male hoc ante-  
 cedentibus continuatur quasi Syracusanis  
 ducibus Alcibiades persuaderi noluerit*',  
 and accordingly marks a lacuna after  
 ἑαυτῷ. But this is too exacting.

5. πλουσιώτατοι ὄντες] cp. c. 24,  
 4. 40, 2. ἀξιούσι breaks the construc-  
 tion; but ἀξιούντες, though grammatically  
 regular, would be clumsy and almost  
 unintelligible. Stahl compares i, 132, 5,  
 where Thuc. begins to add a number of  
 participles to *μηνυτὴς γίγνεται*, but finding  
 the construction unwieldy introduces an-  
 other finite verb, *λέει*, which was certainly

not anticipated at the beginning of the  
 sentence. But Madvig's proposal here  
 (v. crit. note) may very possibly be right.

7. τὰς δ' ἄλλας πόλεις] All the  
 other revolted states had been tributary.  
 Chios alone was *αὐτόνομος*, and this argu-  
 ment would not therefore apply to her.

12. καταβῆ] cp. φοιτῶν c. 18, 1.  
*λέναι* i, 4. ἐλθεῖν vi, 71, 2 (all used of  
 money).—ἐντελὴ...ἀποδώσειν τὸν μισθόν:  
 he would pay them the full drachma in-  
 stead of the three obols. ἀποδίδοναι is  
 the regular word for a fixed payment, or  
 payment of money due. cp. iv, 65, 1  
 (ἀργύριον τακτὸν τοῖς Συρακοσίοις). v, 18,  
 5 (τὸν φόρον); also ii, 95, 1 (ὑπόσχεσιν).

15. κομίσαντα ἢ ναὺς Φοινίσσας]  
 The ἢ is misplaced, and should properly  
 come before κομίσαντα; cp. vi, 24, 1.  
 As to these ships v. c. 87.

τοῖς αὐτοῖς τῆς τε γῆς καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης τὸ κράτος δοῦναι, ἔχειν δ' ἀμφοτέρους ἔαν δίχα τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ βασιλεῖ ἐξεῖναι ἀεὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐτῷ λυπηροὺς τοὺς ἑτέρους ἐπάγειν. γενομένης δ' ἂν καθ' ἐν τῆς ἐς γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν ἀρχῆς, ἀπορεῖν ἂν αὐτὸν οἷς τοὺς κρατοῦντας ξυγκαθαίρῃσει, ἢ μὴ αὐτὸς βούληται μεγάλη δαπάνη καὶ κινδύνῳ ἀναστὰς ποτε διαγωνίσασθαι. εὐτελέστερα δὲ τὰδ εἶναι, βραχεὶ μορίῳ τῆς δαπάνης καὶ ἅμα μετὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀσφα-

2. B alone gives ἀεὶ. 3. αὐτοῦ ABCEFGM. αὐτοὺς C. Probably αὐτοῦ was arrived at through αὐτοὺς, which was itself due to the common tendency to assimilate terminations. 6. εὐτελέστερα δὲ τὰ δευὰ MSS. v. note.

2. καὶ βασιλεῖ ἐξεῖναι] It seems clear that ἔαν depends directly upon παρήναι (not βουλευθῆναι as Stahl), and I think that ἐξεῖναι depends on the combined idea of παρήναι ἔαν. The phrase ἔαν ἐξεῖναι would no doubt be very unusual if it stood by itself. I should explain the construction by saying that ἐξεῖναι strictly depends upon παρήναι, but would probably not have been so used unless ἔαν had already occurred. To supply ἔφη from παρήναι (Krüger) hardly fits with the general impression produced by reading the sentence, which is that καὶ βασιλεῖ ἐξεῖναι κ.τ.λ. are distinctly part of Alcibiades' advice contrasted with μὴ βουλευθῆναι τοῖς αὐτοῖς τὸ κράτος δοῦναι, not merely a comment upon what the result would be if his advice were taken.

3. αὐτῷ] none of the efforts to explain αὐτοῦ are satisfactory. Krüger takes it to mean 'there in Asia'. Poppo makes λυπηροί = ἐχθροί. But λυπηρός regularly takes a dat.; cp. vi, 18, i. vii, 75, 3. —γενομένης δ' ἂν: ἂν does not belong to γενομένης (which = εἰ γένοιτο), but is inserted by anticipation (as in c. 2, 1), and goes with ἀπορεῖν.—οἷς ξυγκαθαίρῃσαι: δς is used for δστις as in i, 137, 2. ξυγκαθαίρειν is also constructed with μετὰ, i, 90, 2; cp. ξυγκαταδιωχθῆναι, c. 28, 1.

5. ἢ μὴ αὐτὸς βούληται...ἀναστὰς ποτε διαγωνίσασθαι] Mr J. D. Duff of Trin. Coll. Camb. has suggested what is I

think undoubtedly the right explanation of the unusual phrase ἀναστὰς διαγωνίσασθαι. He supposes that Thucydides here borrows a metaphor from the ἐφεδρος in the games, and conceives of the Persian King as sitting by while the Lacedaemonians and Athenians fight their bout, after which he in his turn will have to fight the victor. cp. Aristoph. *Frogs*, 791

νυνὶ δ' ἐμελλεν ὡς ἔφη Κλειδημίδης  
ἐφεδρος καθεδεῖσθαι· κἂν μὲν Ἀσχυλὸς  
κρατῇ

ἔξεν κατὰ χώραν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, περὶ τῆς  
τέχνης

διαγωνιεῖσθαι ἔφασκε πρὸς γ' Εὐριπίδην. Aristophanes' phrase ἐφεδρος καθεδεῖσθαι is clearly the complement to ἀναστὰς as used by Thuc., while διαγωνίζεσθαι occurs in both passages. Thus understood the words are telling and appropriate, and ἀναστὰς which has given some trouble to commentators becomes not only natural, but necessary. Xenophon makes a very similar use of the metaphor, *Anab.* ii, v, 10, where Clearchus says to Tissaphernes εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ μανέντες σε κατακτείνωμεν, ἄλλο τι ἂν ἢ τὸν εὐεργέτην κτείναντες πρὸς βασιλέα τὸν μέγιστον ἐφεδρον ἀγωνιζόμεθα;

6. τὰδ εἶναι] an emendation for τὰ δεινὰ made independently both by Madvig and Classen, v. Madv. *Adv.* i, 28. For a similar use of τὰδε cp. v, 41, 2. ii, 77, 6.



λείας αὐτοὺς περὶ ἑαυτοὺς τοὺς Ἕλληνας κατατρίψαι. ἐπιτηδαιο-<sup>3</sup>  
 τέρους τε ἔφη τοὺς Ἀθηναίους εἶναι κοινωνοὺς αὐτῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς·  
 ἥσσαν γὰρ τῶν κατὰ γῆν ἐφίεσθαι, τὸν λόγον τε ξυμφορώτατον  
 5 σφίσι τε αὐτοῖς τὸ τῆς θαλάσσης μέρος καὶ ἐκείνῳ ὅσοι ἐν τῇ  
 βασιλείῳ Ἕλληνες οἰκοῦσι, τοὺς δὲ τὸνναντίον ἐλευθερώσοντας  
 ἤκειν. καὶ οὐκ εἰκὸς εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπὸ μὲν σφῶν τῶν  
 Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθεροῦν νῦν τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἀπὸ δ' ἐκείνων [τῶν  
 βαρβάρων], ἣν μὴ ποτε αὐτοὺς †μὴ ἐξέλωσι†, μὴ ἐλευθερώσαι.

2. B omits εἶναι. 5. ἐκείνῳ C. ἐκείνο AEF. ἐκείνος B. ἐκείνων G.  
 ἐκεῖνοι M. 8. B omits τῶν βαρβάρων. 9. Madv. omits μὴ before ἐξέλωσι.  
 But it is perhaps simpler to change it to πῃ; v. note. ἐξελάσσει Hude.

1. αὐτοὺς περὶ ἑαυτοὺς κατατρίψαι] cp. vi, 18, 6 τρίψεσθαι αὐτὴν περὶ αὐτήν. κατατρίβειν is not used elsewhere by Thuc.

3. τὸν λόγον τε] τε couples the two clauses, which may account for its position. If it came between the article and λόγον it would necessarily be understood as coupling λόγον and ἔργον. This statement about the Athenian λόγος and ἔργον (profession and practice) is not very accurately worked out, for it is only the *Lacedaemonian* professions (ἐλευθερώσοντας ἤκειν) that are specifically mentioned, the Athenian being inferred by contrast.

4. ξυγκαταδουλοῦν ἂν σφίσι κ.τ.λ.] καταδουλοῦν itself governs the dat. (cp. iii, 70, 3). ξύν only means in conjunction with the Persians, and has nothing to do with σφίσι (for the opposite cp. οἷς ξυγκαταίρησει, § 2). The claim of the Lac. to be liberators is frequently brought forward; cp. ii, 8, 4. iii, 63, 3.—τὸ τῆς θαλάσσης μέρος: τῆς θαλάσσης defines μέρος. There are two μέρη of empire, sea and land (cp. ii, 62, 2); the Athenians will subdue the former to themselves, the latter to the Persians.

7. ἀπὸ μὲν σφῶν τῶν Ἑλλήνων] Stahl brackets τῶν Ἑλλήνων as well as τῶν βαρβάρων. Both he and Classen understood σφῶν to mean τῶν Ἀθηναίων, as Alcibiades, himself an Athenian, is

speaking. If this is so τῶν Ἑλλήνων must not doubt go. But a different explanation is suggested by a comparison of i, 23, 2 πόλεις τοσαύτῃς ἡρημώθησαν, αἱ μὲν ὑπὸ βαρβάρων, αἱ δ' ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀντιπολεμούντων. Here σφεῖς is contrasted with βάρβαροι in the sense of Ἕλληνες, and ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν only means 'by other Greek states', not strictly 'by themselves'. The same may be the meaning in the present passage. The Lacedaemonians are said to free the Greeks from 'Greeks like themselves', and thus understood τῶν Ἑλλήνων may perhaps be retained. τῶν βαρβάρων however looks like an interpolation.

9. ἣν μὴ ποτε αὐτοὺς †μὴ ἐξέλωσι†] The many interpretations given of this passage may be divided into two classes (1) those which take αὐτοὺς to mean the Athenians, (2) those which understand it of the Lacedaemonians. The chief exponent of (1) is Poppo (followed by Stahl) who explains 'unless they (the Lac.) fail to destroy the Athenians'; i.e. the survival of the Athenians as dangerous rivals to Sparta is the only thing which will prevent Sparta from giving the Asiatic Greeks their liberty. To this view there are the following (as I think) fatal objections: (1) αὐτοὺς cannot mean the Athenians. If σφῶν just before refers to them, the change of pro-

4 τρίβειν οὖν ἐκέλευε πρῶτον ἀμφοτέρους, καὶ ἀποτεμόμενον ὡς  
μέγιστα ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπειτ' ἤδη τοὺς Πελοποννησίους  
5 ἀπαλλάξαι ἐκ τῆς χώρας. καὶ διανοεῖτο τὸ πλέον οὕτως ὁ  
Τισσαφέρνης, ὅσα γε ἀπὸ τῶν ποιουμένων ἦν εἰκάσαι. τῷ γὰρ  
Ἀλκιβιάδῃ διὰ ταῦτα, ὡς εὖ περὶ τούτων παραινοῦντι, προσθεῖς 5  
ἑαυτὸν ἐς πίστιν τὴν τε τροφὴν κακῶς ἐπόριζε τοῖς Πελοποννησίοις  
καὶ ναυμαχεῖν οὐκ εἶα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς Φοινίσσας φάσκων ναῦς  
ἥξειν καὶ ἐκ περιόντος ἀγωνιεῖσθαι ἔφθειρε τὰ πράγματα, καὶ τὴν  
ἀκμὴν τοῦ ναυτικοῦ αὐτῶν ἀφείλετο, γενομένην καὶ πάννυλον ἰσχυράν,  
τά τε ἄλλα καταφανέστερον ἢ ὥστε λαυθάνειν οὐ προθύμως 10  
ζυνεπολέμει.

XLVII. Ὁ δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδης ταῦτα ἅμα μὲν τῷ Τισσαφέρνῃ

7. ναῦς φάσκων AC etc.

noun is very confusing, while if it does not (*v. last note*) there is absolutely no indication to show that the Athenians are being spoken of at all. (2) *ποτε* is most awkwardly placed. *ἦν μὴ ποτε* means 'unless sometime or other', but a negation like *μὴ ἐξέλωσι* must cover all time and cannot be supposed to occur like a definite action at 'some time or other'. On all grounds therefore (*cp. also § 2, ἦν μὴ αὐτὸς βούληται κ.τ.λ.*) I agree with Classen that *αὐτοὺς* means the Lacedaemonians, and that the sense to be conveyed is 'unless the Persians manage to get rid of the Lacedaemonians'. In fact it is pretty clear that this clause glances at the alternative course which is suggested in the following sentence, *viz. τοὺς Πελοποννησίους ἀπαλλάξαι ἐκ τῆς χώρας*. But to get this sense some change of the text is necessary, unless we consider that the repetition of *μὴ* before *ἐξέλωσι* only strengthens the negative. I cannot find any support for this: nor does it seem probable. Perhaps Thuc. may have written *ἦν μὴ ποτε αὐτοὺς πῃ ἐξελάσῃσι*; *cp. c. 89, 1 ἡδέως ἂν ἀπαλλαγέντας πῃ τοῦ πράγματος*. Plat. *Theat.* 180 E *ἂν μὴ πῃ ἀμυνόμενοι διαφύγωμεν*. Other instances of a confusion between *μὴ* and *πῃ* (Plato *Phileb.* 34 C, *Protag.* 331 D) are quoted by Heindorf on *Theat.* 179 A.

For ἐξελάσῃσι (suggested also by Hude) *cp. i, 109, 4 ἐκ τῆς Μέμφιδος ἐξήλασε τοὺς Ἕλληνας*, and *vii, 5, 4*.

1. ἀποτεμόμενον] ἀποτέμνεσθαι is almost always used of cutting off and appropriating territory or substantial objects; *cp. Herod. i, 82, &c.* Here it is metaphorical, 'reducing their power'.

5. προσθεῖς ἑαυτὸν ἐς πίστιν] for *προστιθέναι ἑαυτὸν* with a dat. *cp. iii, 92, 2. viii, 50, 3. ἐς πίστιν* means 'in respect of confidence'. *cp. c. 88 διαβάλλειν αὐτὸν τοῖς Πελοποννησίοις ἐς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ Ἀθηναίων φιλίαν. cp. also ii, 37, 2. v, 75, 3.*

8. ἐκ περιόντος] 'with superior resources'. *cp. vii, 13, 1 ἐκ πολλῆς περιουσίας νεῶν. v, 103, 1 ἀπὸ περιουσίας. τὴν ἀκμὴν...ἰσχυράν*: 'the efficiency of the navy which had been well established'. *cp. vii, 14, 1 βραχεῖα ἀκμὴ πληρώματος*. 'The efficiency of a crew is a delicate matter (*i.e.* never very well established)'. *ἰσχυρός* and *βραχύς* are often thus contrasted with one another, *e.g. v, 111, 2 τὰ μὲν ἰσχυρότατα ἐλπιζόμενα μέλλεται, τὰ δ' ὑπάρχοντα βραχεῖα.... cp. also such phrases as ναυμαχία βραχεῖα i, 117, 3; ἰσχυρά vii, 72, 1.—οὐ προθύμως*: this, like *οὐκ ὀλίγος*, is a very favourite litotes with Thuc. *cp. vi, 89, 2. vii, 7, 2, and ἀπρόθυμος iv, 86, 3. viii, 32, 1.*

καὶ βασιλεῖ, ὦν παρ' ἐκείνοις, ἄριστα εἶναι νομίζων παρῆναι, ἅμα δὲ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κάθοδον εἰς τὴν πατρίδα ἐπιθεραπεύων, εἰδώς, εἰ μὴ διαφθερεῖ αὐτήν, ὅτι ἔσται ποτὲ αὐτῷ πείσαντι κατελθεῖν· πείσαι δ' ἂν ἐνόμιζε μάλιστα ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου, εἰ Τισσαφέρηνς φαίνοντο  
 5 αὐτῷ ἐπιτηδείους ὦν· ὕπερ καὶ ἐγένετο. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἦσθοντο αὐτὸν 2  
 ἰσχύοντα παρ' αὐτῷ οἱ ἐν τῇ Σάμφ' Ἀθηναίων στρατιῶται, τὰ μὲν καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδου προπέμψαντος λόγους εἰς τοὺς δυνατωτάτους αὐτῶν ἄνδρας ὥστε μνησθῆναι περὶ αὐτοῦ εἰς τοὺς βελτίστους τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὅτι ἐπ' ὀλιγαρχίᾳ βούλεται καὶ οὐ πονηρίᾳ [οὐδὲ  
 10 δημοκρατίᾳ] τῇ ἑαυτὸν ἐκβαλοῦσιν κατελθὼν καὶ παρασχὼν Τισσαφέρην φίλον αὐτοῖς ξυμπολιτεύειν, τὸ δὲ πλεόν καὶ ἀπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν οἱ ἐν τῇ Σάμφ' τριήραρχοί τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ δυνατώτατοι ὄρμητο εἰς τὸ καταλύσαι τὴν δημοκρατίαν.

7. προσπέμψαντος AC etc. δημοκρατίᾳ. v. note.

9. Herw. (*Stud. Thuc.* p. 103) strikes out οὐδὲ

1. ὦν παρ' ἐκείνοις] cp. iv, 1, 3 and Herod. i, 130 Ἀστυάγεα δὲ Κύρος...εἶχε παρ' ἑωυτῷ εἰς δ' ἐτελεύτησε. The phrase is often used of exiles finding an asylum in a foreign country.—ἐπιθεραπεύων: cp. v, 11, 1 τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐνυμαχίαν θεραπεύοντες. ἐπι- is intensive; cp. c. 84, 5.

4. ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου] The phrase occurs iii, 37, 4. iv, 83, 4. vi, 9, 2. viii, 51, 2. In several of these passages (perhaps all except vi, 9, 2) it hardly differs in sense from οὕτως, just as ἐκ τοῦ εἰκότος often = εἰκότως. cp. also ἐκ τρόπου τινὸς ἐπιτηδείους (c. 66, 2), and similar expressions.

6. τὰ μὲν καὶ] This answers to τὸ δὲ πλεόν; cp. i, 90, 1.—προπέμψαντος: the reading can only be decided by the requirements of the sense. προσπέμψαντος seems to me the more appropriate, but no certainty is possible.

7. δυνατωτάτους...βελτίστους] δυνατώτατοι is common in connexion with the oligarchical party (cp. i, 2, 6. 115, 4), but Madv. objects that βελτίστοι is not thus used, and conjectures ὡς βελτίστον. He omits however to notice that βελτίστοι

is a regular political term in Xenophon. cp. *Hell.* ii, 3, 19 (τῶν πολιτῶν). iv, 4, 3. vii, 1, 43 (where it is opposed to τὸ πλῆθος). It was doubtless coming into use earlier.—μνησθῆναι...εἰς τοὺς βελτ.: cp. i, 90, 2 τὸ ὑποπτον τῆς γνώμης οὐ δηλοῦντες εἰς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, and in Latin *spargere uoces in uolgum*, Virgil, *Aen.* ii, 98.

9. οὐ πονηρίᾳ [οὐδὲ δημοκρατίᾳ]] It is difficult to resist the impression that οὐδὲ δημοκρατίᾳ is a gloss; cp. vi, 92, 3 φυγὰς εἰμι τῆς τῶν ἐξελασάντων πονηρίας. For πονηρία as applied to democracy cp. [*Xen.*] *Resp. Ath.* i, 5, *Xen. Mem.* iii, 5, 18 ff. The term was appropriated to democracy in the political vocabulary, almost as *σωφροσύνη* was to oligarchy.

11. ἀπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν] 'of their own accord'. cp. v, 60, 1 ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν καὶ οὐ τοῦ πλῆθους κελεύσαντος εἶπον, and ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ γνώμης, iv, 68, 3.

12. οἱ ἐν τῇ Σάμφ' τριήραρχοι κ.τ.λ.] a limitation of the original subject by a fresh subject in apposition; cp. c. 13, and note.—δυνατώτατοι must here mean simply 'most powerful' without the special political sense 'oligarchical'.

XLVIII. Καὶ ἐκινήθη πρότερον ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τοῦτο, καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐντεῦθεν ὕστερον ἦλθε. τῷ τε Ἀλκιβιάδῃ διαβάντες τινὲς ἐκ τῆς Σάμου ἐς λόγους ἦλθον, καὶ ὑποτείνοντος αὐτοῦ Τισσαφέρην μὲν πρῶτον, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ βασιλέα φίλον ποιήσιν, εἰ μὴ δημοκρατοῦντο (οὕτω γὰρ ἂν πιστεῦσαι μᾶλλον βασιλέα), 5 πολλὰς ἐλπίδας εἶχον αὐτοὶ θ' ἑαυτοῖς οἱ δυνατοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν τὰ πράγματα, οἵπερ καὶ τάλαιπωροῦνται μάλιστα, ἐς αὐτοὺς περι- 2 ποιήσιν, καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπικρατήσιν. ἐς τε τὴν Σάμον ἐλθόντες ξυνίστασάν τε τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους ἐς ξυνω- μοσίαν καὶ ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς φανερώς ἔλεγον ὅτι βασιλεὺς σφίσι 10 φίλος ἔσοιτο καὶ χρήματα παρέξοι Ἀλκιβιάδου τε κατελθόντος 3 καὶ μὴ δημοκρατουμένων. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὄχλος, εἰ καὶ τι παραντίκα ἤχθετο τοῖς πρassoμένοις, διὰ τὸ εὖπορον τῆς ἐλπίδος τοῦ παρὰ

6. δυνατώτατοι B.

10. AC etc. omit ἐς before τοὺς πολλοὺς.

ca. 48—53. Progress of the conspiracy at Samos in spite of the opposition of Phrynichus. It is resolved to send Pisander and others to Athens to conduct the revolution there. Intrigues of Phrynichus against Alcibiades. Sentiments of Tissaphernes towards the Athenians and Alcibiades.

1. ἐκινήθη] *κινῶν* in various senses has the idea of disturbance or revolutionary action (cp. iv, 98, 5 *ὅδω ἐν τῇ ἀνάγκῃ κινῆσαι*; viii, 15, 1 *τὰ χίλια τάλαντα... κινῶν*), but this is most frequently the case in a political sense; cp. iv, 89, 2. vi, 36, 2. viii, 71, 2.

3. ὑποτείνοντος] 'holding out hopes that...'. ὑποτείνειν in this sense generally governs the acc. (not the infin.), but cp. Herod. vii, 158 *ὕποτείνοντός τε τὰ ἐμπόρια ξυνελευθεροῦν*.

6. οἱ δυνατοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν κ.τ.λ.] The normal sentence would be *διαβάντες τινὲς ἐκ τῆς Σάμου...πολλὰς ἐλπίδας εἶχον αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοῖς τὰ πράγματα περιποιήσιν*. Three modifications are made: (1) the vague and distant subject *διαβάντες τινὲς* is defined by the insertion of *οἱ δυνατοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν* (cp. c. 47, 2, note); (2) Thuc. inserts in passing (in the third person) the argument with which they

defended their action—'they are the people who bear the burden, and should therefore have the power' (cp. c. 63, 4, *ad fin.*); (3) the regular construction having thus been doubly broken it is necessary to insert *ἐς αὐτοὺς* to revive the impression of *αὐτοὶ θ' ἑαυτοῖς* and to give point to *ὡς περ*. If *ὡς περ καὶ τὰλ.* had immediately followed *οἱ δυνατώτατοι τῶν πολιτῶν* it would have appeared to be an explanation (by Thuc.) of their readiness for a revolution: coming as it does after *τὰ πράγματα* and immediately before *ἐς αὐτοὺς*, it connects itself with these latter words and gives indirectly their claim to enjoy the advantages of power, 'ἡμεῖς γὰρ τάλαιπωροῦμεθα μάλιστα'. For *περιποιήσιν ἐς αὐτοὺς* cp. vii, 18, 3 *περιστάναί* (the pass. of *περιποιεῖν*) *ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους*.

10. *ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς*] cp. c. 47, 2 and note.—*μὴ δημοκρατουμένων*: for the omission of *αὐτῶν* cp. i, 3, 2. iv, 16, 2.

13. *διὰ τὸ εὖπορον τῆς ἐλπίδος*] ἢ *ἐλπίς τοῦ παρὰ βασιλέως μισθοῦ* is practically equivalent to 'the pay they looked for from the king', and *τὸ εὖπορον* means the 'ease' which would result from the receipt of this pay; cp. vi, 17, 6, and 90, 4 *χρήματα καὶ σίτον, ὥστε εὐπρότεροι γίνεσθαι τι αὐτῶν*.

Βασιλέως μισθοῦ ἡσυχάζειν· οἱ δὲ ξυνιστάντες τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν, ἐπειδὴ τῷ πλήθει ἐκοίνωσαν, αὐθις κἂν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῦ ἐταιρικοῦ τῷ πλέονι τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου ἐσκόπουν. καὶ τοῖς 4 μὲν ἄλλοις ἐφαίνετο εὐπορα καὶ πιστά, Φρυνίχῳ δὲ στρατηγῷ ἔτι 5 ὄντι οὐδὲν ἤρεσκεν, ἀλλ' ὃ τε Ἀλκιβιάδης, ὅπερ καὶ ἦν, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ὀλιγαρχίας ἢ δημοκρατίας δεῖσθαι ἐδόκει αὐτῷ, οὐδ' ἄλλο τι σκοπεῖσθαι ἢ ὅτῳ τρόπῳ ἐκ τοῦ παρόντος κόσμου τὴν πόλιν μεταστήσας ὑπὸ τῶν ἐταίρων παρακληθεὶς κάτεισι, σφίσι δὲ περιοπτεῖν εἶναι τοῦτο μάλιστα ὅπως μὴ στασιάζωσι· βασιλεῖ

2. ἐκoinώνησαν ABFM. cp. c. 8, 1, where the same words are confused. καὶ σφίσιν MSS. κἂν Dobr. 5. καὶ οὐδὲν AC etc. 9. οὐ περιοπτεῖν B. τῷ τε βασιλεῖ B. βασιλεῖ οὐκ εὐπορον AC etc.

2. κἂν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς] The ἐν (v. critical note) is in accordance with Thucydides' usage (cp. iv, 130, 7. v, 69, 2), and seems absolutely necessary.

τοῦ ἐταιρικοῦ τῷ πλέονι] cp. i, 73, 5 τῷ πλέονι τοῦ στρατοῦ; iv, 106, 1 Ἀθηναίων...τὸ πλεῖον. These clubs (ξυνωμοσίαι ἐπὶ δίκαις καὶ ἀρχαῖς c. 54, 4) were associations of persons of the same age and standing among the richer classes for the purposes of public life in general and politics in particular. They mostly had a strongly oligarchic tendency, but supported some definite oligarchic leader, rather than oligarchy in the abstract. In this case they appear to have been induced by Antiphon and Pisander to make common cause for a time, but they did not work together for long. Unfortunately, though we have frequent allusions to them in the orators, there is almost no information as to details. A law inserted in [Dem.] c. Steph. 1137 gives a fair idea of their methods. ἐάν τις συνίστηται, ἢ συνδεκάζη τὴν Ἡλιαίαν, ἢ τῶν δικαστηρίων τι τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, ἢ τὴν βουλὴν, ἐπὶ δωροδοκίᾳ χρήματα διδοὺς ἢ δεχόμενος, ἢ ἐταίριαν συνίστη ἐπὶ καταλόσει τοῦ δήμου, ἢ συνήγορος ὢν λαμβάνη τὰ χρήματα ἐπὶ ταῖς δίκαις ταῖς ἰδίαις ἢ δημοσίαις, τούτων εἶναι τὰς γραφὰς πρὸς τοὺς Θεσμοθέτας. For further particulars v. Vischer *Kleine Schriften* vol. i, p. 153 ff.

3. τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου] The phrase τὰ ἀπὸ τινος varies considerably in meaning, but the general notion of it appears to be 'the relations of B to A as contemplated by A'. This commonly takes the form of 'what A expects B to do to him, or for him'; cp. iii, 4, 5. viii, 51, 3. 56, 2. So in the present passage τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀλκ. means 'their prospects from Alcibiades'. Sometimes however τὰ ἀπὸ τινος hardly differs from τὰ πρὸς τινα (e.g. i, 127, 1), though even in such cases the principle is the same.

4. στρατηγῷ ἔτι ὄντι] In c. 54, 3 Pisander persuades the Athenians to depose him.—ὃ τε Ἀλκιβιάδης: this answers to βασιλεῖ τε οὐκ εὐπορον κ.τ.λ. (l. 9).—For ὀλιγαρχίας δεῖσθαι, cp. c. 43, 4 οὐδὲ τῆς τροφῆς ἐπὶ τούτοις δεῖσθαι οὐδέν.—κόσμου: i.e. πολιτείας; not εὐταξίας (as Schol.). The word is neutral; cp. c. 67, 3. 72, 2.

8. ὑπὸ τῶν ἐταίρων παρακληθεὶς] 'being summoned by the Clubs to aid them', not merely 'being recalled'. παρακαλεῖν is 'to call in assistance', generally for some definite purpose; cp. v, 27, 1. vi, 87, 2. viii, 92, 3.

9. περιοπτεῖν εἶναι] cp. iv, 124, 4 τῆς Μένδης περιορώμενος μὴ τι πάθῃ, and iv, 73, 1. vi, 93, 1. The insertion of οὐ by B is clearly wrong, but useful as indicating the tendency of the MS. to corrections of this sort.

τε οὐκ εὐπορον εἶναι καὶ Πελοποννησίων ἤδη ὁμοίως ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ  
 ὄντων καὶ πόλεις ἐχόντων ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἀρχῇ οὐ τὰς ἐλαχίστας,  
 Ἀθηναίους προσθέμενον, οἷς οὐ πιστεύει, πράγματα ἔχειν, ἐξὸν  
 Πελοποννησίου, ὅφ' ὃν κακὸν οὐδὲν πω πέπονθε, φίλους ποιή-  
 5 σασθαι. τὰς τε ξυμμαχίδας πόλεις, αἷς ὑποσχήσεσθαι δὴ σφᾶς 5  
 ὀλιγαρχίαν, ὅτι δὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐ δημοκρατῶνται, εὖ εἰδέναι ἔφη  
 ὅτι οὐδὲν μᾶλλον σφίσιν οὐθ' αἱ ἀφεστηκυῖαι προσχωρήσονται  
 οὐθ' αἱ ὑπάρχουσαι βεβαιότεραι ἔσονται· οὐ γὰρ βουλήσεσθαι  
 αὐτοὺς μετ' ὀλιγαρχίας ἢ δημοκρατίας δουλεύειν μᾶλλον ἢ μεθ'  
 6 ὁποτέρου ἂν τύχῃσι τούτων ἐλευθέρους εἶναι· τοὺς τε καλοὺς 10  
 καγαθοὺς ὀνομαζομένους οὐκ ἐλάσσω αὐτοὺς νομίζειν σφίσι πράγ-  
 ματα παρέξειν τοῦ δήμου, ποριστὰς ὄντας καὶ ἐσηγητὰς τῶν κακῶν

2. οὐκ for οὐ τὰς AC etc. 4. B alone has πω. οὐδὲν κακὸν GM. 5. ὑπε-  
 σχῆσθαι MSS. ὑποσχίσεσθαι Böhm (the promises are still to be made). 11. νομί-  
 σιν CG.

1. ὁμοίως ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ ὄντων] ὁμοίως ὄντων cannot be equivalent to ὁμοίων ὄντων, nor would the alteration of the text to ὁμοίων be in itself satisfactory. Phrynichus is not making an assertion as to the *relative strength* of the Athenian and Lacedaemonian fleets. His argument is a more general one. Up to the failure of the Sicilian expedition it was only occasionally that the Lacedaemonians were to be met with in force at sea. In the truce of 423 B.C. (Thuc. iv, 118) they are not allowed to keep a fleet at sea at all. They were therefore cut off from the King, and not dangerous to him. Now however 'they are quite as much on the high seas' as the Athenians themselves. For this sense of ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ cp. ii, 67, 4 δσους λάβοιεν ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ... διέφθειρον. cp. also iv, 10, 4, and viii, 53, 2 ναὺς ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ ἀντιπρόφους ἐχόντων. εἶναι often = *uersari*, cp. iv, 13, 3. viii, 35, 2. ὁμοίως is here used in the comparatively rare sense 'as much as another' (cp. vii, 21, 3); it generally means 'as much as *they themselves*' (on some former occasion); cp. i, 121, 2.—προσθέμενον: cp. iii, 11, 4. vi, 80, 2. It is also used transitively in vi, 18, 1. πράγματα ἔχειν: cp. πράγματα παρέχειν

§ 6; but πράγματα is not used in this sense elsewhere in Thuc., unless vi, 24, 1 is an instance.

5. ὑποσχίσεσθαι δὴ... ὅτι δὴ] cp. c. 9, 1. Their argument is quoted contemptuously. For a similar repetition of δὴ with each member of a sentence cp. i, 122, 4. 127, 1 (δὴ... δῆθεν).

8. οὐ γὰρ βουλήσεσθαι κ. τ. λ.] 'Neither oligarchy nor democracy would make them contented as subjects; but they would welcome either form of government if freedom went along with it'. For the sense of οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ cp. c. 27, 5 and note. Here, as often, it negatives the first alternative absolutely, and affirms the second.

10. καλοὺς καγαθοὺς] Like βέλτιστοι (c. 47, 2) this is used by Xenophon as a synonym for the oligarchic party; cp. *Hell.* ii, 3, 12. 15. The expression ὀνομαζομένους perhaps shows that at the present time this, like other party phrases, was a comparative novelty. Certainly a great development of the language of party warfare has taken place between Thuc. viii, and the *Hellenica* of Xenophon.

12. ποριστὰς καὶ ἐσηγητὰς] The πορισταὶ at Athens were a board appointed in times of pressing financial difficulty to

τῷ δήμῳ, ἐξ ὧν τὰ πλείω αὐτοὺς ὠφελεῖσθαι· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐπ' ἐκείνους εἶναι καὶ ἄκριτοι ἂν καὶ βιαίτερον ἀποθνήσκουν, τὸν δὲ δῆμον σφῶν τε καταφυγὴν εἶναι καὶ ἐκείνων σωφρονιστήν. καὶ 7 ταῦτα παρ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων ἐπισταμένους τὰς πόλεις σαφῶς 5 αὐτὸς εἰδέναι ὅτι οὕτω νομίζουσιν. οὐκ οὐκ ἐαυτῷ γε τῶν ἀπὸ 'Αλκιβιάδου καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι πρᾶσσομένων ἀρέσκειν οὐδέν.

XLIX. Οἱ δὲ ξυλλεγέντες τῶν ἐν τῇ ξυνωμοσίᾳ, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει, τὰ τε παρόντα ἐδέχοντο καὶ ἐς τὰς

2. ἐκείνους BCGM. v. note. βεβαιότερον B. 6. Valla omits καὶ after 'Αλκιβιάδου. 7. The mss. all give ξυμμαχία for ξυνωμοσία which Haacke restored.

devise and propose (ἐσηγείσθαι) new sources of revenue; cp. the Scholiast on Arist. *Frogs*, 1505, who describes them as οἱ περὶ πόρου χρημάτων ἐσηγοῦμενοι. This perhaps shows the connexion in thought between *παριστάς* and *ἐσηγητάς*.

1. τὸ μὲν ἐπ' ἐκείνους εἶναι] 'As far as depended upon them'; cp. iv, 28, 1 τὸ ἐπὶ σφᾶς εἶναι. This suits the sense better than ἐπ' ἐκείνους which would mean 'as far as was in their power'. ἐπὶ with the acc. in this sense is fairly common in the tragedians, but rare in prose. For this absolute use of the infin. expressing limitation or qualification v. Goodwin, *M. and T.* 780—1.

2. ἀκριτοὶ ἂν...ἀποθνήσκουν] The nom. is used as if the allies were the subject of the sentence, although Phrynichus is the actual speaker and the words really depend on αὐτοὺς νομίζειν.

3. καὶ ταῦτα...οὕτω νομίζουσιν] The construction (as in § 5) is εἰδέναι τὰς πόλεις ὅτι οὕτω νομίζουσιν. The phrase παρὰ τῶν ἔργων ἐπιστάσθαι is unusual, ἀπὸ being generally used with things, παρὰ with persons. But cp. Herod. vii, 182 πυνθάνονται παρὰ πυρσῶν.

5. τῶν ἀπὸ 'Αλκιβιάδου κ.τ.λ.] If the text here is correct πρᾶσσομένων must be supplied with ἀπὸ 'Αλκιβιάδου as well as with ἐν τῷ παρόντι; cp. iv, 76, 2 τὰ Βοιωτία πράγματα ἀπὸ τινῶν ἀνδρῶν...ἐπράσσετο. vi, 61, 1 τὰ μυστικά

...ἀπ' ἐκείνου ἐδόκει πραχθῆναι. Roughly speaking τὰ ἀπὸ 'Αλκ. πρᾶσσομένα are Alcibiades' recall and the consequent Persian alliance, τὰ ἐν τῷ παρόντι πρᾶσσομένα are the measures which the Ath. at Samos were actually taking for the subversion of the democracy. In spite of the absence of the article and the use of καὶ (not οὐδέ) before ἐν τῷ παρόντι the two phrases must be taken as distinct. If we regard them as one we should have the very awkward expression 'the intrigues set on foot by Alc. and at the present moment'. In this case ἐν τῷ παρόντι would add nothing, and καὶ would be clearly superfluous. For a somewhat similar omission of the article before the second of two neuter participles cp. vii, 14, 2 τὰ τε θύα καὶ ἀπαναλισκόμενα. It is however very probable that ἀπὸ 'Αλκιβιάδου was originally a marginal explanation of τῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι πρᾶσσομένων. The introduction of such explanations into the text with a καὶ is a common phenomenon. Moreover Valla omits καὶ.

7. οἱ δὲ ξυλλεγέντες] i. e. at the meeting which is implied in c. 48, 3 ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῦ ἐταιρικοῦ τῷ πλέονι τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ 'Αλκ. ἐσκόπου. — τῶν ἐν τῇ ξυνωμοσίᾳ: cp. c. 89, 2 τῶν ἐν τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ. Haacke's restoration of ξυνωμοσία for ξυμμαχία is necessary to the sense.

Ἀθήνας πρέσβεις Πείσανδρον καὶ ἄλλους παρεσκευάζοντο πέμπειν, ὅπως περὶ τε τῆς τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου καθόδου πράττοιεν καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἐκεῖ δήμου καταλύσεως καὶ τὸν Τισσαφέρην φίλον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ποιήσειαν.

L. Γνούς δὲ ὁ Φρύνιχος ὅτι ἔσοιτο περὶ τῆς τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου καθόδου λόγος καὶ ὅτι Ἀθηναῖοι ἐνδέχονται αὐτήν, δείσας πρὸς τὴν ἐναντίωσιν τῶν ὑφ' αὐτοῦ λεχθέντων μὴ, ἣν κατέλθῃ, ὡς 2 κωλυτὴν ὄντα κακῶς δρᾷ, τρέπεται ἐπὶ τοιούνδε τι. πέμπει ὡς τὸν Ἀστύοχον τὸν Λακεδαιμονίων ναύαρχον, ἔτι ὄντα τότε περὶ τὴν Μίλητον, κρύφα ἐπιστείλας ὅτι Ἀλκιβιάδης αὐτῶν τὰ πράγματα 10 φθείρει Τισσαφέρην Ἀθηναίοις φίλον ποιῶν, καὶ τᾶλλα σαφῶς ἐγγράψας· ξυγγνώμην δὲ εἶναι ἑαυτῷ περὶ ἀνδρὸς πολεμίου καὶ 3 μετὰ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἀξυμφόρου κακόν τι βουλευεῖν. ὁ δὲ Ἀστύοχος τὸν μὲν Ἀλκιβιάδην, ἄλλως τε καὶ οὐκέτι ὁμοίως ἐς χεῖρας ἰόντα, οὐδὲ διανοεῖτο τιμωρεῖσθαι, ἀνελθὼν δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν 15 ἐς Μαγνησίαν καὶ παρὰ Τισσαφέρην ἅμα λέγει τε αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐπισταλέντα ἐκ τῆς Σάμου καὶ γίγνεται αὐτὸς μηνυτής, προσέθηκέ τε,

7. λεχθέντων ὑφ' αὐτοῦ AC etc. 9. ἔτι τότε ὄντα B. 11. καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα B. 13. μετὰ τοῦ ABEFGM. C omits τοῦ. v. note. 15. ἀνελθὼν BC. αὐτῶν CFM. 17. αὐτοῖς μηνυτής ABCFG. But it is likely to have been altered to uniformity with the αὐτοῖς immediately preceding. Valla translates αὐτὸς.

1. Πείσανδρον] As commissioner to investigate the mutilation of the Hermæ, he had professed strong democratic sentiments: v. Andoc. *de Myst.* 36, and Grote vol. v, p. 173. (Pt. ii, c. lviii.)

3. φίλον ποιήσειαν] There seems to be no distinction between φίλον ποιεῖν and ποιεῖσθαι; cp. i, 28, 3. viii, 48, 4.

5. ἔσοιτο...ἐνδέχονται] This change of mood in *oratio obliqua* is common in Thuc. and has no corresponding difference of meaning; cp. ii, 80, i. viii, 51, 1. —δείσας πρὸς τὴν ἐναντίωσιν...μὴ: cp. iii, 60 δείσαντες πρὸς τὸν λόγον αὐτῶν μὴ... So χαλεπαίνειν πρὸς τι ii, 22, 1. 59, 2.

8. πέμπει ὡς] This abrupt commencement without any conjunction (e.g. γάρ) is usual in Thuc. in a statement introduced by τοιόσδε; cp. i, 89, 1, and Classen's note there.—ἔτι ὄντα τότε: 'who was still in the neighbourhood of

Miletus as narrated above',—i.e. before he left it in c. 41.—ἐπιστείλας: 'sending letters'; cp. c. 38, 4, and note. This meaning is assumed by ἐγγράψας.

12. καὶ μετὰ τοῦ...ἀξυμφόρου] MSS. and edd. give τοῦ. But τὸ ἀξυμφόρον seems too precise a phrase, and we have a parallel in i, 102, 4 ἀλλὰ τινος ὑπόπτου γενομένου. The mistake is common in the MSS.; cp. vi, 34, 2 (where ABEF give τοῦ τρόπου).

14. ἐς χεῖρας ἰόντα] 'coming within his reach'. The phrase is not so used elsewhere in Thuc., but cp. Xen. *Cyr.* ii, 4, 15. vii, 4, 10.—ἀνελθὼν: 'going inland'. Magnesia was on the Hermus, about half-way between Sardes (Tissaphernes' capital) and the coast. There was another Magnesia of some importance on the Meander close to the borders of Caria.

17. προσέθηκέ τε, ὡς ἔλεγετο, ἑαυτὸν]



ὡς ἐλέγετο, ἐπὶ ἰδίοις κέρδεσι Τισσαφέρνει ἑαυτὸν καὶ περὶ τούτων καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων κοινοῦσθαι· διόπερ καὶ περὶ τῆς μισθοφορᾶς οὐκ ἐντελοῦς οὔσης μαλακωτέρως ἀνθήπτετο. ὁ δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδης 4 πέμπει εὐθὺς κατὰ Φρυνίχου γράμματα ἐς τὴν Σάμον πρὸς τοὺς 5 ἐν τέλει ὄντας οἱα δέδρακε, καὶ ἀξίων αὐτὸν ἀποθνήσκειν. θορυ- 5 βούμενος δὲ ὁ Φρύνιχος καὶ πάνυ ἐν τῷ μεγίστῳ κινδύνῳ ὦν διὰ τὸ μήνυμα ἀποστέλλει αὐθις πρὸς τὸν Ἀστύοχον, τά τε πρότερα μεμφόμενος ὅτι οὐ καλῶς ἐκρύφθη, καὶ νῦν ὅτι ὅλον τὸ στράτευμα τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐτοῖμος εἴη [τὸ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ] παρασχεῖν αὐτοῖς 10 διαφθεῖραι, γράψας καθ' ἕκαστα, ἀτειχίστου οὔσης Σάμου ᾧ ἂν τρόπῳ αὐτὰ πράξειε, καὶ ὅτι ἀνεπίφθονόν οἱ ἤδη εἴη περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς δι' ἐκείνους κινδυνεύοντι καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἄλλο πᾶν δρᾶσαι

2. AC etc. omit κοινοῦσθαι; v. note. B omits περὶ before τῆς μισθοφορᾶς. 4. εὐθὺς πέμπει ABEFM. 8. B omits ὅτι after νῦν. 9. Stahl brackets τὸ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ, and both its position and the previous τὸ τῶν Ἀθ. are against it.

cp. c. 46, 5, and note. ὡς ἐλέγετο = 'according to common rumour at the time'; cp. ii, 8, 5 (where ἐλέγετο is contrasted with ἐδόκει), and vi, 103, 4. κοινοῦσθαι at the end of the sentence, though it is given by B alone, seems necessary to explain περὶ τούτων κ.τ.λ., which could hardly be joined with προσέθηκε Τισσαφέρνει ἑαυτὸν. In c. 82, 3 κοινοῦσθαι is used in the same sense with an acc.; cp. also Aesch. *Supp.* 369 αὐτοῖς δὲ πᾶσι τῶνδε κοινώσας πέρι. For the use of the infin. cp. ii, 12, 5. v. Goodwin *M. and T.* § 770.

2. περὶ τῆς μισθοφορᾶς... ἀνθήπτετο] Classen follows B in omitting περὶ. But such phrases as ἀνθάπτεσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων (viii, 97, 3), τοῦ πολέμου (Herod. vii, 138), are very different from ἀνθ. τῆς μισθοφορᾶς οὐκ ἐντελοῦς οὔσης, and do not justify it. It seems more probable that ἀνθήπτετο is used absolutely, τοῦ πράγματος or its equivalent being understood (not ἀνθήπτετο Τισσαφέρνους as L. and S.).

5. οἱα δέδρακε] This is governed directly by πέμπει γράμματα which is used as a synonym for ἐπιστέλλει (cp. note on c. 38, 4). The change of construction in

καὶ ἀξίων is very like the reverse change in the following section, ἀποστέλλει... μεμφόμενος... καὶ νῦν ὅτι κ.τ.λ.

6. καὶ πάνυ... ὦν] Both Poppo and Classen follow Heilmann in putting a comma after πάνυ and taking καὶ πάνυ with θορυβούμενος. But there is no instance in Thuc. of καὶ πάνυ coming after the word it qualifies (except iii, 30, 2, which is not parallel), and καὶ more naturally goes with ἐν τῷ μεγίστῳ κ.τ.λ. — πάνυ is often thus inserted by itself rather abruptly; cp. c. 56, 2.

8. οὐ καλῶς ἐκρύφθη] 'was not concealed as it ought to have been'. οὐ belongs to ἐκρύφθη not to καλῶς.—καὶ νῦν ὅτι...: the idea which governs this (e.g. ἐπαγγελλόμενος) must be extracted from ἀποστέλλει; cp. πέμπει γράμματα οἱα δέδρακε just above.

10. ᾧ ἂν τρόπῳ αὐτὰ πράξει] ἂν, though attracted by the relative, does not belong to it. The meaning is ὅτῳ τρόπῳ αὐτὰ ἂν πράξει, 'how he would effect this' (if required).

12. δι' ἐκείνους] 'through the Lacedaemonians', i.e. because they had betrayed him. cp. i, 41, 2. vi, 57, 3. ἀνεπίφθονον, therefore, must mean pri-

μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθίστων αὐτὸν διαφθαρήναι. ὁ δὲ Ἀστύχοις  
μηνύει καὶ ταῦτα τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ.

LI. Καὶ ὡς προσήθετο αὐτὸν ὁ Φρύνιχος ἀδικοῦντα καὶ ὅσον  
οὐ παροῦσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου περὶ τούτων ἐπιστολήν, αὐτὸς  
προφθάσας τῷ στρατεύματι ἐξάγγελος γίγνεται ὡς οἱ πολέμιοι 5  
μέλλουσιν, ἀτειχίστου οὔσης τῆς Σάμου καὶ ἅμα τῶν νεῶν οὐ  
πασῶν ἔνδον ὀρμουσῶν, ἐπιθήσεσθαι τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, καὶ ταῦτα  
σαφῶς πεπυσμένος εἶη, καὶ χρῆναι τειχίζειν τε Σάμον ὡς τάχιστα  
καὶ τὰλλα ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχειν. ἐστρατήγει δὲ καὶ κύριος ἦν αὐτὸς 10  
2 πρᾶσσω ταῦτα. καὶ οἱ μὲν τὸν τειχισμὸν τε παρεσκευάζοντο καὶ 10  
ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου, καὶ ὡς μέλλουσα, Σάμος θάσσον ἐτειχίσθη· αἱ δὲ  
παρὰ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου ἐπιστολαὶ οὐ πολλὰ ὕστερον ἦκον ὅτι  
προδίδοται τε τὸ στράτευμα ὑπὸ Φρυνίχου καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι  
3 μέλλουσιν ἐπιθήσεσθαι. δόξας δὲ ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης οὐ πιστὸς εἶναι,  
ἀλλὰ τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων προειδὼς τῷ Φρυνίχῳ ὡς ξυνειδῶτι 15

6. AF omit καὶ ἅμα.

8. πεπεισμένος B.

13. παραδίδοται C.

marily 'that *they* should not blame him'. If it merely meant 'it was no shame' (as generally) δι' ἐκείνους would have no point.—ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθίστων: i.e. Alcibiades and his supporters. It indicates the bitterness of party struggles in Greek states that this and the argument in § 2 should be put forward and accepted as natural and defensible.—αὐτὸν: τοῦτο δρᾶσαι is practically equivalent to τοὺς ἐχθίστους διαφθεῖραι; so that μᾶλλον ἢ αὐτὸν... διαφθαρήναι means 'rather than that they should ruin him *instead*'. For the use of αὐτὸν cp. c. 2, 4 (αὐτοί).

5. ἐξάγγελος γίγνεται] 'reveals'; cp. ἐξαγγέλλειν iv, 27, 3. Plato also has ἐξάγγελος γίγνεσθαι for ἐξαγγέλλειν Legg. xii, 964, E.—οὐ πασῶν ἔνδον ὀρμουσῶν: Probably there was no room in the harbour. Some ships were also stationed at Chalc and Cos to carry on operations against Rhodes; v. c. 44, 3.

9. κύριος ἦν... πρᾶσσω ταῦτα] cp. v, 34, 2 μήτε πριαμένους τι ἢ πωλοῦντας κυρίους εἶναι. But the construction seems very rare. It would appear from the

passage quoted, as well as from Polybius (v. L. and S.), that there is no consistent difference in meaning between κύριος εἶναι πρᾶσσω and κύριος εἶναι πράσσειν.

11. ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου] 'διὰ τὸ τοιούτον' Schol.; but cp. c. 47, 1 and note.

καὶ ὡς μέλλουσα] καὶ ὡς = 'even thus', and generally refers to a previous or normal condition of things which has been implied by the mention of some new condition, but not specially dwelt upon: e.g. here, Σάμος ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου θάσσον ἐτειχίσθη, καὶ ὡς (i.e. ἀνευ τοῦ τοιούτου) μέλλουσα τειχίσθη. cp. also c. 56, 3. Sometimes an addition is necessary to avoid ambiguity, e.g. vii, 81, 4 ἐνόμιζον καὶ ὡς ταύτη τῇ ιδέῃ καταδρασάμενοι λήψεσθαι αὐτούς, where ταύτη τῇ ιδέῃ is merely an explanation of ὡς, parallel to ἀνευ τοῦ τοιούτου above. In Lat. *sic quomodo* is used by Tacitus in precisely the same way; cp. *Ann.* iv, 40.

15. τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων] 'the intentions of the enemy'; cp. note on c. 48, 3. ἀνατιθέναι is used in a good as well as a bad sense; cp. ii, 64, 1.

κατ' ἔχθραν ἀνατιθέναι, οὐδὲν ἔβλαψεν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ξυνεμαρτύρησε μᾶλλον ταῦτά ἐσαγγείλας.

LII. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Ἀλκιβιάδης μὲν Τισσαφέρην παρεσκεύαζε καὶ ἀνέπειθεν ὅπως φίλος ἔσται τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, δεδιότα 5 μὲν τοὺς Πελοποννησίους, ὅτι πλείοσι ναυσὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων παρήσαν, βουλόμενον δὲ ὅμως, εἰ δύναιτό πως, πεισθῆναι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἐν τῇ Κνίδῳ διαφορὰν περὶ τῶν Θηριμένους σπονδῶν ἥσθετο τῶν Πελοποννησίων (ἥδη γὰρ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ἐν τῇ Ῥόδῳ ὄντων αὐτῶν ἐγεγέννητο), ἐν ᾗ τὸν τοῦ Ἀλκι- 10 βιάδου λόγον πρότερον εἰρημένον περὶ τοῦ ἐλευθεροῦν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους τὰς ἀπάσας πόλεις ἐπηλήθευσεν ὁ Λίχας, οὐ φάσκων ἀνεκτὸν εἶναι ξυγκεῖσθαι κρατεῖν βασιλεῖα τῶν πόλεων ὧν ποτε

2. ταῦτα MSS. ἀπαγγείλας AEFM. ἐξαγγείλας CG. 6. πιστευθῆναι CG.  
9. αὐτῷ for αὐτῶν ACEFG. 11. ἀπάσας τὰς AEFM[G].

2. ταῦτά ἐσαγγείλας] ταῦτά (not ταῦτα) is required to give point to *ξυνεμαρτύρησε*. ἐσαγγείλας (B) suits the sense best, and might easily be changed.

3. παρεσκεύαζε] cp. iii, 36, 5. *ὅπως* here belongs to *ἀνέπειθεν* only, and *παρεσκεύαζε* Τισσαφέρην is complete in itself; cp. iv, 132, 2.—πλείοσι ναυσὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων: v. Madv. *Synt.* § 90, R. 1.

6. βουλόμενον δὲ ὅμως, εἰ δύναιτό πως, πεισθῆναι] Classen joins *εἰ δύναιτό πως* πεισθῆναι, and understands βουλόμενον φίλον εἶναι. This seems less natural, especially as *εἰ δύναιτο* frequently occurs in parenthesis between *βούλεσθαι* and the infin. depending upon it; cp. c. 100, 3. iii, 4, 2.

7. τὴν ἐν τῇ Κνίδῳ διαφορὰν] v. c. 43, 2, 3. It is there mentioned that Tissaphernes was present in person and himself quarrelled with Lichas. Therefore *ἐπειδὴ ἥσθετο* must refer to Alcibiades, who, on learning that Tissaphernes had grievances against the Lacedaemonians, pressed him all the more to go over to Athens. τῶν Πελοποννησίων depends on τὴν διαφορὰν (i.e. τὴν διαφορὰν τῶν Πελ. πρὸς τὸν Τισσ.). The words do not in themselves look genuine, but the following αὐτῶν would hardly be intel-

ligible without them.

8. ἥδη γὰρ...ἐγεγέννητο] 'For the Peloponnesians were now at Rhodes (c. 44) and the Cnidian dispute had therefore already taken place'. ἥδη κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ἐγεγέννητο goes together, and ἐν τῇ Ῥόδῳ ὄντων is only inserted to explain more clearly what is meant by *τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν*. Having left the Peloponnesians at Rhodes in c. 44 we have gone back to narrate what had *previously* happened at Samos and Athens. The events of cc. 45—52 are therefore about contemporaneous with those of cc. 25—44, and we have now brought the history of the Athenian armament *up to the date* of the Peloponnesian visit to Rhodes. This parenthesis is to remind the reader of the fact.

10. πρότερον εἰρημένον] In the narrative the order is reversed. Lichas' criticism is given in c. 43, 3, Alcibiades' remark not till c. 46, 3. But as the *same* period of time is covered in the two sections cc. 25—44 and cc. 45—52, an event narrated in the early chapters of the second section is really antecedent to one narrated in the closing chapters of the first.—ἐπηλήθευσεν: cp. iv, 85, 1, and note on ἐπῆλπισαν c. 1, 1.

καὶ πρότερον ἢ αὐτὸς ἢ οἱ πατέρες ἦρχον. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀλκιβιάδης, ἅτε περὶ μεγάλων ἀγωνιζόμενος, προθύμως τὸν Τισσαφέρην θεραπεύων προσέκειτο.

LIII. Οἱ δὲ μετὰ τοῦ Πεισάνδρου πρέσβεις [τῶν Ἀθηναίων] ἀποσταλέντες ἐκ τῆς Σάμου, ἀφικόμενοι ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, λόγους 5 ἐποιοῦντο ἐν τῷ δήμῳ κεφαλαιοῦντες ἐκ πολλῶν, μάλιστα δὲ ὡς ἐξέλη αὐτοῖς Ἀλκιβιάδην καταγαγοῦσι καὶ μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον δημοκρατουμένοις βασιλέα τε ξύμμαχον ἔχειν καὶ Πελοποννησίῳ 2 περιγενέσθαι. ἀντιλεγόντων δὲ πολλῶν καὶ ἄλλων περὶ τῆς δημοκρατίας καὶ τῶν Ἀλκιβιάδου ἅμα ἐχθρῶν διαβοώντων ὡς 10 δεινὸν εἴη εἰ τοὺς νόμους βιασάμενος κάτεισι, καὶ Εὐμόλπιδῶν καὶ

4. Dobree strikes out τῶν Ἀθ. v. note.

5. καὶ ἀφικόμενοι ABEFM.

3. προσέκειτο] sc. αὐτῷ. cp. vii, 50, 4. viii, 89, 3. προσκείμενος is used absolutely vii, 18, 1 (in the sense of προθύμως), but here the dative is suggested by the preceding words.

oo. 53—56. The oligarchical conspirators (v. c. 49) arrive at Athens. They propose to establish an oligarchy, and recall Alcibiades, as the only means of securing Persian support. It is resolved to send ten commissioners to Tissaphernes with full powers. Phrynichus is deprived of his command; and the aid of the ἑταιρεῖαι is enlisted on the side of the conspiracy. Meanwhile the Athenians move to Chalce to watch the enemy at Rhodes, and press the Chians hard.

4. πρέσβεις τῶν Ἀθηναίων] τῶν Ἀθηναίων has been generally suspected (Dobree, Classen, Stahl) for the reason that it was not 'the Athenians' but only the armament at Samos that sent these ambassadors. But the words may perhaps be genuine and due to the fact that the new chapter brings a change of subject from Tiss. and Alc. to the Athenians (cp. c. 1, 1 and note). τῶν Ἀθηναίων would thus mean 'Athenian' as opposed to Lacedaemonian, precisely as in c. 34. On the other hand it is difficult to see how the καὶ before ἀφικόμενοι can be genuine

unless we suppose with Classen that ἀποσταλέντες and ἀφικόμενοι are both predicative. The sense seems clearly to require that ἀφικόμενοι alone should be predicative, and that ἀποσταλέντες ἐκ τῆς Σάμου should be taken closely with οἱ πρέσβεις. The intention to send these ambassadors is mentioned c. 49, 1.—κεφαλαιοῦντες ἐκ πολλῶν: cp. vi. 91, 7 πολλὰ παρεῖς τὰ μέγιστα κεφαλαιώσω, and iii, 67, 7.

7. μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον δημοκρατουμένοις] This is a purposely ambiguous phrase pointing to some modification of the democracy rather than the establishment of an oligarchy.

11. Εὐμόλπιδῶν καὶ Κηρέκων] These were the families who enjoyed the hereditary right of ministering at the Eleusinian mysteries. There were four principal priests, the ιεροφάντης, δαδούχος, ιεροκέρυξ, and ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ. Of these the first was always chosen from the Eumolpidae, the third from the Ceryces. An ἐξηγητής was also elected by the people from the same families to interpret and decide points of ceremonial law, and they were likely therefore to be listened to with respect on the present occasion. For further details, and authorities, v. Smith's *Dict. of Ant.* (1891) s.v. Eleusinia.

Κηρύκων περὶ τῶν μυστικῶν, δι' ἅπερ ἔφυγε, μαρτυρομένων καὶ ἐπιθeliaζόντων μὴ κατάγειν, ὁ Πείσανδρος παρελθὼν πρὸς πολλὴν ἀντιλογίαν καὶ σχετλιασμὸν ἡρώτα ἕνα ἕκαστον παράγων τῶν ἀντιλεγόντων, εἴ τινα ἐλπίδα ἔχει σωτηρίας τῇ πόλει, Πελοποννη-  
 5 σίων ναῦς τε οὐκ ἐλάσσους σφῶν ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ ἀντιπρῶρους ἔχόντων καὶ πόλεις ξυμμαχίδας πλείους, βασιλέως τε αὐτοῖς καὶ Τισσαφέρνους χρήματα παρεχόντων, σφίσι τε οὐκέτι ὄντων, εἰ μὴ τις πείσει βασιλέα μεταστῆναι παρὰ σφῶς. ὁπότε δὲ μὴ φαίεν 3  
 10 οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν γενέσθαι, εἰ μὴ πολιτεύσομεν τε σωφρονέστερον καὶ ἐς ὀλίγους μᾶλλον τὰς ἀρχὰς ποιήσομεν, ἵνα πιστεύῃ ἡμῖν βασιλεύς, καὶ μὴ περὶ πολιτείας τὸ πλεῖον βουλευσομεν ἐν τῷ

3. ἕκαστον αὐτῶν AEFGM. 4. ἦντινα AC (C apparently corrected from ἦντινα). ἦντινα G. ἦντινα EF. ἦν τινα M. εἴ τινα B. 8. ὁπότε δὲ ABCF. 9. ἐνταῦθα ἤδη B. 10. ὑμῖν MSS., corrected by Bekk. πολιτεύσομεν EFM. 11. ποιήσαμεν ABEFGM. C omits τὰς ἀρχὰς ποιήσομεν (τὰς ἀρχ. ποιήσαμεν is supplied in a later hand). 12. καὶ μὴν περὶ AB EF. G corr. (later hand). ἐβουλευσαμεν AFG. E corr. G corr. (both later hand). ἐβουλευσομεν E. βουλεύωμεν CG.

1. περὶ τῶν μυστικῶν] cp. vi, 61, 1. Alcibiades was actually impeached for taking part in mock celebrations of the Eleusinian mysteries in private houses (v. Andocid. *de Myst.* p. 2, § 11 ff.), but combined with the religious charges were accusations of a design to subvert the democracy. v. Grote, vol. v. p. 173. —ἐπιθeliaζόντων: The sense of this word is made clear in ii, 74, 3. 75, 1. It is used of a solemn appeal to heaven to support the justice of a cause.

2. πρὸς πολλὴν ἀντ. κ. σχετλιασμὸν] This goes closely with what follows (not with παρελθὼν), 'he met their violent and indignant opposition, by bidding his opponents stand out one by one, and asking them &c.' cp. iv, 22, 1 οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀπόκρισιν οὐδὲν ἀντεῖπον.

5. ναῦς...ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ ἀντιπρῶρους ἔχόντων] cp. c. 48, 4 Πελοποννησίων ἤδη ὁμοίως ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ ὄντων. ἀντί-πρῶρος, though very common in the literal sense, is not used metaphorically by Thuc. except in this book. cp. c. 75, 1.

8. μεταστῆναι παρὰ σφῶς] μεθι-στασθαι is used with παρὰ or πρὸς of going over to a party, with ἐς (like καθίστασθαι) of changing to a state or condition; cp. i. 6, 3 ἐς τὸ τρυφερότερον μετέστησαν, and viii, 75, 2 ἐς δημοκρατίαν μεταστήσαι.

ὁπότε δὲ μὴ φαίεν] 'as often as they said no', i.e. 'as one after another they said no'. cp. ii, 15, 1 ὁπότε μὴ τι δείσειαν, and iii, 68, 1.

10. σωφρονέστερον] cp. c. 64, 5. Alcibiades at Sparta describing his attitude to the Athenian constitution (vi, 89, 5) says τῆς δὲ ὑπαρχούσης ἀκολασίας ἐπειρώμεθα μετριώτερον ἐς τὰ πολιτικά εἶναι. cp. iii, 82; 8 καὶ ἀριστοκρατίας σώφρονος προτιμήσει.

11. ἐς ὀλίγους μᾶλλον κ.τ.λ.] cp. c. 38, 3, and note. ποιησόμεθα might be expected; cp. iii, 3, 4 ἄνδρας ἐς φυλακὴν ἐποίησαντο. viii, 1, 3 τὰ τῶν ξυμμάχων ἐς ἀσφάλειαν ποιείσθαι. The phrase is altogether very strange, and perhaps Hude is right in bracketing τὰς ἀρχὰς ποιήσομεν.

παρόντι ἢ περὶ σωτηρίας (ὑστερον γὰρ ἐξέσται ἡμῖν καὶ μεταθέσθαι, ἦν μὴ τι ἀρέσκη), Ἀλκιβιάδην τε κατὰξομεν, ὃς μόνος τῶν νῦν οἷός τε τοῦτο κατεργάσασθαι."

LIV. Ὁ δὲ δῆμος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀκούων χαλεπῶς ἔφερε τὸ περὶ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας· σαφῶς δὲ διδασκόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Πεισάνδρου 5 μὴ εἶναι ἄλλην σωτηρίαν, δέισας καὶ ἅμα ἐπελπίζων ὡς καὶ 2 μεταβαλεῖται, ἐνέδωκε. καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο πλεύσαντα τὸν Πείσανδρον καὶ δέκα ἄνδρας μετ' αὐτοῦ πράσσειν ὅπῃ αὐτοῖς δοκοίη ἀριστα εἶναι τὰ τε πρὸς τὸν Τισσαφέρην καὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην. 3 ἅμα τε διαβαλόντος καὶ Φρύνιχον τοῦ Πεισάνδρου παρέλυσεν ὁ 10 δῆμος τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τὸν ξυνάρχοντα Σκιρωνίδην, ἀντέπεμψαν δὲ στρατηγοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς ναὺς Διομέδοντα καὶ Λέοντα. τὸν δὲ Φρύνιχον ὁ Πείσανδρος φάσκων Ἴασον προδοῦναι καὶ Ἀμόργην διέβαλεν, οὐ νομίζων ἐπιτήδειον εἶναι τοῖς πρὸς τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην πρασσο- 4 μένους. καὶ ὁ μὲν Πείσανδρος τὰς τε ξυνωμοσίας, αἵπερ ἐτύγχανον 15

#### 8. ὅπῃ ἂν ABEFGM.

2. ἦν μὴ τι ἀρέσκη] The subject to ἀρέσκη is ἡ πολιτεία. τι is used adverbially. cp. i, 126, 1 ἦν μὴ τι ἐσακούωσι, and ii, 15, 1 ὅπῃ μὴ τι δέσειαν. —κατεργάσασθαι is used of 'achieving' something difficult; cp. i, 17, 2. vii, 21, 2.

6. ἐπελπίζων ὡς καὶ μεταβαλεῖται] For ἐπελπίζειν cp. note on c. i, 1. The subject to μεταβαλεῖται must be ἡ ὀλιγαρχία. Classen understands the sense to be 'that the Demos (the main subject of the sentence) will be restored'. But in i, 71, 6. viii, 73, 2. 90, 1 (which he quotes as instances of the 'personal' use) μεταβάλλεσθαι only means 'to change sides'.

8. ὅπῃ αὐτοῖς δοκοίη] The ἂν before αὐτοῖς must be due to dittography, unless δοκῇ is the right reading. It cannot be supported by the examples given by Goodwin (*M. and T.* § 557).

10. παρέλυσεν τῆς ἀρχῆς] cp. vii, 16, 1. The Scholiast on Aristoph. *Lys.* 313 says that the property of Phrynichus was confiscated, and his house rased to the ground. cp. *Frogs*, 689. For Scironides v. c. 25, 1.

12. ἐπὶ τὰς ναὺς] To define the province of a commander's authority ἐπὶ with the gen. is used (e.g. τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων, Dem. *de Cor.* 309, 10), but when a man is spoken of as *being sent* or *coming* to take a certain command, Thuc. frequently has ἐπὶ with the acc. as in the present passage. cp. c. 55, 1 ἀφικόμενοι ἐπὶ τὰς...ναὺς. c. 85, 3 ἡκόντων ἐπὶ τὰς ναὺς...στρατηγῶν. Diomedon and Leon have already commanded reinforcements to Ionia (c. 23), but must have returned home after handing over their command to the ναύαρχος.

13. φάσκων Ἴασον προδοῦναι] In c. 27 Phrynichus insists on retiring to Samos as the Peloponnesians have been largely reinforced, and Thuc. expresses approval of his action. But the withdrawal of the Athenian fleet left Iasus exposed to the attack of the whole Peloponnesian force, and no warning seems to have been sent to Amorgos, who is accordingly taken by surprise (c. 28, 2). Probably this was the point of Pisander's accusation.

15. τὰς ξυνωμοσίας] v. note on c. 48, 3.—ξυστραφεῖντες: a military term

πρότερον ἐν τῇ πόλει οὔσαι ἐπὶ δίκαις καὶ ἀρχαῖς, ἀπάσας ἐπελθὼν καὶ παρακελευσάμενος ὅπως ξυστραφέντες καὶ κοινῇ βουλευσάμενοι καταλύσουσι τὸν δῆμον, καὶ τὰλλα παρασκευάσας ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν ὥστε μηκέτι διαμέλλεσθαι, αὐτὸς μετὰ τῶν δέκα ἀνδρῶν  
5 τὸν πλοῦν ὡς τὸν Τισσαφέρην ποιεῖται.

LV. Ὁ δὲ Λέων καὶ Διομέδων ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χειμῶνι ἀφίγμενοι ἤδη ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ναῦς ἐπίπλουν τῇ Ῥόδῳ ἐποιήσαντο. καὶ τὰς μὲν ναῦς καταλαμβάνουσιν ἀνειλκυσμένας τῶν Πελοποννησίων, ἐς δὲ τὴν γῆν ἀπόβασίν τινα ποιησάμενοι καὶ τοὺς  
10 προσβοηθήσαντας Ῥοδίων νικήσαντες μάχῃ ἀπεχώρησαν ἐς τὴν Χάλκην, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐντεῦθεν μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκ τῆς Κῷ ἐποιοῦντο· εὐφυλακτότερα γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐγίγνετο, εἴ ποι ἀπαίροι τὸ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ναυτικόν.

Ἦλθε δ' ἐς τὴν Ῥόδον καὶ Ξενοφαντίδας Λάκων παρὰ  
15 Πεδαρίτου ἐκ Χίου, λέγων ὅτι τὸ τεῖχος τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἤδη ἐπιτετέλεσται, καὶ εἰ μὴ βοηθήσουσι πάσαις ταῖς ναυσίν, ἀπολείται τὰ ἐν Χίῳ πράγματα. οἱ δὲ διενοοῦντο βοηθήσειν. ἐν 3 τούτῳ δὲ ὁ Πεδάριτος αὐτὸς τε καὶ τὸ περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπικουρικόν

3. καταλύσῃ ABM. 11. M alone gives ἡ. 12. εἴ που AB EF. Schol.

(cp. v, 10, 9. vii, 30, 2) here used of combining for revolutionary purposes, which is generally expressed by *ξυνίστασθαι* (ii, 88, 1. viii, 83, 3). The great difficulty with the clubs would be to get them to act for a common cause instead of for an individual leader. cp. note on c. 48, 3.

3. ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν] 'for the plot they had in hand'. cp. c. 49 τὰ τε παρόντα ἐδέχοντο (where τὰ παρόντα is clearly the same as τὰ ἐν τῷ παρόντι πρᾶσσόμενα, c. 48 *ad fin.*).—*διαμέλλεσθαι*: Classen takes this as passive. *μελλεσθαι* is used in the pass. by Xen. (*Anab.* iii, 1, 47), but probably not by Thuc.; for it seems better to explain *μελλεται* in v, 111, 2 (the only doubtful passage) as a middle. A middle sense is also more suitable for *διαμέλλεσθαι* here.

8. τὰς ναὺς καταλαμβάνουσιν ἀνειλκυσμένας] cp. c. 44, 4. *καταλαμβάνουσι* is merely 'they find' (*offendunt* in Lat.);

cp. c. 65, 2. It explains the fact that there was no sea-fight.

11. ἐντεῦθεν μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκ τῆς Κῷ] In c. 44, 3 we are told ἐκ τῆς Χάλκης καὶ ἐκ τῆς Κῷ τοὺς ἐπίπλους ἐποιοῦντο.

12. εὐφυλακτότερα...ἐγίγνετο] Thuc. appears to use the neuter plural for the singular in this impersonal construction without any special principle. cp. i, 8, 3 πλωϊώτερα ἐγένετο παρ' ἀλλήλους. ii, 98, 1 ἐπειδὴ αὐτῷ ἐτόιμα ἦν. iii, 92, 6 ὅπως εὐφύλακτα αὐτοῖς εἴη. He also has ἀδύνατα for ἀδύνατον i, 125, 2. ii, 72, 2 &c.

15. τὸ τεῖχος] Delphinium: for the whole passage cp. c. 40.

17. διενοοῦντο βοηθήσειν] *διανοεῖσθαι* occurs with the fut. inf. five times in Thuc., iv, 115, 2. 121, 1. vii, 56, 1. viii, 55, 2. 74, 3; with the aor. three times, i, 18, 2. v, 43, 2. 52, 2; but very much more frequently (22 times) with the present.

ἔχων καὶ τοὺς Χίους πανστρατιᾷ, προσβαλὼν τῶν Ἀθηναίων τῷ περὶ τὰς ναὺς ἐρύματι αἰρεῖ τέ τι αὐτοῦ καὶ νεῶν τινων ἀνελκυσμένων ἐκράτησεν· ἐπεκβοηθησάντων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τρεψαμένων τοὺς Χίους πρώτους, νικᾶται καὶ τὸ ἄλλο τὸ περὶ τὸν Πεδάριτον, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποθνήσκει καὶ τῶν Χίων πολλοὶ καὶ ὅπλα 5 ἐλήφθη πολλά.

LVI. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ μὲν Χίοι ἔκ τε γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον ἐπολιορκοῦντο καὶ ὁ λιμὸς αὐτόθι ἦν μέγας· οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Πείσανδρον Ἀθηναίων πρέσβεις ἀφικόμενοι ὡς τὸν 2 Τισσαφέρην λόγους ποιοῦνται περὶ τῆς ὁμολογίας. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ 10 (οὐ γὰρ αὐτῷ πᾶν τὰ ἀπὸ Τισσαφέρνους βέβαια ἦν, φοβουμένου τοὺς Πελοποννησίους μᾶλλον καὶ ἔτι βουλομένου, καθάπερ καὶ ὑπ' ἐκείνου ἐδιδάσκετο, τρίβειν ἀμφοτέρους) τρέπεται ἐπὶ τοιούδε εἶδος ὥστε τὸν Τισσαφέρην ὡς μέγιστα αἰτοῦντα παρὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων 3 μὴ ξυμβῆναι. δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ ὁ Τισσαφέρης τὸ αὐτὸ βουλευθῆναι, 15 αὐτὸς μὲν διὰ τὸ δέος, ὁ δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδης, ἐπειδὴ ἑώρα ἐκείνους καὶ

4. AFM omit πρώτους. 6. πολλά ἐλήφθη B. 7. M places οἱ μὲν Χίοι after θαλάσσης, and so (with the omission of μὲν) do AEF.

1. καὶ τοὺς Χίους πανστρατιᾷ] πανστρατιᾷ goes with Χίους not with προσβαλὼν. It is used of the whole levy of a people, not of the whole force of a commander. For the phrase ἔχων τοὺς Χίους πανστρατιᾷ, cp. iv, 72, 1 Βοιωτοὶ ὄντες πανστρατιᾷ Πλαταιᾶσιν.

4. τὸ ἄλλο] cp. note on c. 25, 4. τὸ ἄλλο is the ἐπικουρικὸν above mentioned, viz. the mercenaries of Amorges; v. c. 28, 3—5.

cc. 56—60. The Athenian deputies arrive in Ionia to treat with Tissaphernes. Alc. makes such extravagant demands on behalf of the Persian king that the negotiations are broken off. Thereupon Tissaphernes again makes advances to the Peloponnesians. Third treaty between Persia and the Lacedaemonians. Tiss. promises to bring up the Phoenician fleet.

9. οἱ δὲ...πρέσβεις] c. 54, 4. Tissaphernes was now at Magnesia; cp. c. 50, 3.

11. τὰ ἀπὸ Τισσαφέρνους κ.τ.λ.] cp.

note on c. 51, 2.—φοβουμένου μᾶλλον: 'being more afraid than before'. cp. c. 9, 2 ἡσθάνοντο τὰ τῶν Χίων μᾶλλον. Since Alcibiades had first begun to persuade Tissaphernes to side with the Athenians, the Lacedaemonians had received a reinforcement of 27 ships the importance of which is marked in c. 41, 1 (Ἀστυνοχος) νομίσας πάντα ὕστερα εἶναι τᾶλλα πρὸς τὸ ναῦς, ὅπως θαλασσοκρατοῖεν μᾶλλον, τοσαύτας ξυμπαρακομίσαι.

13. ἐπὶ τοιούδε εἶδος] 'to a plan of this sort'; cp. vi, 77, 2 (where also ὥστε follows). τρέπεται ἐπὶ τοιούδε τι (c. 50, 1) is used of certain definite actions, τρέπεται ἐπὶ τ. εἶδος of a line of policy.

15. τὸ αὐτὸ βουλευθῆναι κ.τ.λ.] τὸ αὐτὸ refers only to μὴ ξυμβῆναι. The antithesis between αὐτὸς μὲν and ὁ δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδης, introducing by an afterthought a fresh subject, makes the original verb δοκεῖ insufficient, and so the latter clause has to be made independent with its own verb ἐβούλετο.—καὶ ὅς: καὶ εἰ τὰ μέγιστα λαμβάνοι Schol.; cp. note on c. 51, 2.



ὥς οὐ ξυμβησείοντα, δοκεῖν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐβούλετο μὴ ἀδύνατος εἶναι πείσαι, ἀλλ' ὥς πεπεισμένῳ Τισσαφέρνει καὶ βουλομένῳ προσχωρήσαι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους μὴ ἱκανὰ δίδοναι. ἤτει γὰρ τοσαῦτα 4 ὑπερβάλλον ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης, λέγων αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ παρόντος Τισσα- 5 φέρνους, ὥστε τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καίπερ ἐπὶ πολὺ ὃ τι αἰτοίη ξυγχωρούντων, ὁμῶς αἴτιον γενέσθαι. Ἰωνίαν τε γὰρ πᾶσαν ἡξίου ἐνδίδοσθαι καὶ αὐθις νήσους τε τὰς ἐπικειμένας καὶ ἄλλα, οἷς οὐκ ἐναντιουμένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων τέλος ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ ἤδη ξυνόδῳ, δέισας μὴ πᾶν φωραθῇ ἀδύνατος ὢν, ναῦς ἡξίου εἶναι 10 βασιλέα ποιεῖσθαι καὶ παραπλεῖν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γῆν ὅπῃ ἂν καὶ ὅσαις ἂν βούληται. ἐνταῦθα δὲ τοῦκέτι τι†, ἀλλ' ἀπορα νομί- 5 σαντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου ἐξηπατήσθαι, δι' ὁργῆς ἀπελθόντες κομίζονται ἐς τὴν Σάμον.

1. ξυμβασειόντα MSS. 5. B alone gives τὸ. 7. ἡξίου δίδοσθαι MSS. *postulavit* Valla. v. note. τᾶλλα ABM. τᾶλλα EF. 11. οὐκέτι τι ABFGM. G omits τι and B omits δ'λλ'. Read οὐκέτ' ἔτυχε. v. note.

2. ἄλλ' ὥς πεπεισμένῳ κ.τ.λ.] The sense is, δοκεῖν ἐβούλετο τοὺς Ἀθηναίους μὴ ἱκανὰ δίδοναι ὥς πεπεισμένῳ Τισσαφέρνει, 'he wished it to appear that Tissaphernes was persuaded but that the Athenians would not make sufficient concessions'. ὥς πεπεισμένῳ means 'who, it was understood (i.e. by the persons implied in δοκεῖν), was persuaded'. In the first clause the subject to δοκεῖν is Alcibiades, but in the second another δοκεῖν must be supplied with τοὺς Ἀθηναίους for its subject.

4. ὑπερβάλλον] cp. c. 81, 2 ὑπερβάλλον ἐμεγάλυνε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν.

5. τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων] τὸ is absolutely necessary either before τῶν Ἀθηναίων or before αἴτιον. Classen prefers the latter position, comparing τὸ ἔργον ii, 81, 4. viii, 109, 1. But τὸ is very likely to have fallen out between ὥστε and τῶν, and the authority of B goes for something. τὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων would perhaps be more natural, but the singular is also quite allowable; cp. τὸ τῆς ξυμφορᾶς iii, 59, 1, τὸ τῆς τύχης iv, 18, 3. vii, 61, 3.

7. ἡξίου ἐνδίδοσθαι] This reading (suggested by Dr H. Jackson) seems

preferable to ἡξίου δίδοσθαι. It accounts for ἡξίου in the MSS., and makes equally good sense, as ἐνδίδοσθαι can mean 'to give up'; cp. iv, 76, 3.—καὶ ἄλλα: cp. v, 58, 5 ἐδῶκε Σάμινθον τε καὶ ἄλλα. τᾶλλα (v. crit. note) is inappropriate as there are no other definite places which he proposed to surrender. Perhaps ἄλλα refers to the Greek cities on the Hellespont.

10. παραπλεῖν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γῆν] After the victories of Cimon on the Eurymedon (465 B.C.) Persia did not seriously dispute with Athens the mastery of the Aegean. The peace of Callias (449 B.C.) may perhaps not be historical (v. Grote, vol. v, p. 192), but its reputed provisions no doubt give a fairly accurate notion of the actual state of affairs at the time, and among them was one that no Persian ship of war should proceed west of Phaselis (or according to others the Chelidonian islands, long. about 30° 22'). τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γῆν will now include all Ionia and the islands, since these are to be given up to the Persian king.

11. τοῦκέτι τι†] As the text stands it is impossible to govern τι either by supplying ξυνεχώρουν, or by νομίσαντες. Stahl

LVII. Τισσαφέρνης δὲ εὐθὺς μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χειμῶνι παρέρχεται ἐς τὴν Καῦνον, βουλόμενος τοὺς Πελοποννησίους πάλιν τε κομίσαι ἐς τὴν Μίλητον, καὶ ξυνθήκας ἔτι ἄλλας ποιησάμενος. ἃς ἂν δύνηται, τροφήν τε παρέχειν καὶ μὴ παντάπασιν ἐκπεπολεμῶσθαι, δειδιῶς μὴ, ἣν ἀπορώσι πολλαῖς ναυσὶ τῆς 5 τροφῆς, ἣ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἀναγκασθέντες ναυμαχεῖν ἡσσηθῶσιν ἢ κενωθείσων τῶν νεῶν ἄνευ ἑαυτοῦ γένηται τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἂ βούλονται. ἔτι δὲ ἐφοβεῖτο μάλιστα μὴ τῆς τροφῆς ζητήσει 2 πορθήσῃσι τὴν ἡπειρον. πάντων οὖν τούτων λογισμῷ καὶ προνοίᾳ, ὥσπερ ἐβούλετο ἐπανισοῦν τοὺς Ἕλληνας πρὸς ἀλλήλους, 10 μεταπεμφάμενος οὖν τοὺς Πελοποννησίους τροφήν τε αὐτοῖς δίδωσι καὶ σπονδὰς τρίτας τάσδε σπένδεται.

LVIII. "Τρίτῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ ἔτει Δαρείου βασιλεύοντος, ἐφορεύοντος δὲ Ἀλεξιππίδα ἐν Λακεδαίμονι, ξυνθήκαι ἐγένοντο

4. ποιησάμενος ABEFM. 5. ἐκπεπολεμῶσθαι AEF. ἐκπεπολεμείσθαι C (corrected by first hand to -ῆσθαι) G. AB omit ἣν after μὴ. 13. βασιλεύετω CG. βουλῆται A.

accepts Lindau's conjecture οὐκέτι ἄλλ' ἢ ἄπορα, but οὐκέτι ἄλλ' ἢ unseparated by other words needs support, and the phrase is at best clumsy. Good sense will be restored by a very simple correction, ἐνταῦθα δὴ οὐκέτ' ἔτυχε, ἄλλ' κ.τ.λ. 'Then at last Alcibiades failed to get what he asked'. μὴ τυγχάνειν is used in precisely this sense (in opposition to πείθειν) iii, 42, 3 πείσας τε ὑποπτος γίγνεται, καὶ μὴ τυχὼν μετὰ ἀξυνεσίας καὶ ἄδικος. cp. also viii, 85, 3 αἰτήσας καὶ οὐ τυχὼν. For the phrase ἄπορα νομίσαντες cp. iii, 16, 2. v. also vii, 73, 3.

2. παρέρχεται] He comes along the coast (παρά) from Magnesia (on the Meander). At Caunus he would be within reach of Rhodes.

5. ἐκπεπολεμῶσθαι] 'make them altogether his enemies'. ἐκπεπολεμῆσθαι, which has better ms. authority here, is supported by Xen. *Hell.* v, 4, 20 ἔκπολεμῆσσε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους: but that is the only instance of ἐκπολεμῆν in a transitive sense where the MSS. are unanimous. cp. vi, 91, 5, and Classen's critical note.

πολλαῖς ναυσὶ τῆς τροφῆς] πολλαῖς

ναυσὶ is governed by τροφῆς: cp. i, 5, 1 κέρδους τοῦ σφετέρου αὐτῶν ἔνεκα καὶ τοῖς ἀσθενέσι τροφῆς, and iv, 6, 1 ἐσπάνιζον τροφῆς τοῖς πολλοῖς.—κενωθεισῶν τῶν νεῶν: the loss of men by desertion was becoming a more and more serious difficulty at this period of transition from citizen soldiers to mercenaries. cp. vii, 13, 2.

10. ὥσπερ ἐβούλετο ἐπανισοῦν κ.τ.λ.] 'as in fact he intended to balance the powers of Greece &c.' ὥσπερ is often so used with a verb alone, e.g. ὥσπερ ὠρμητο c. 23, 1, and ὥσπερ διανοεῖτο c. 33, 4, but it is rare to find it introducing a clause. Here however ὥσπερ ἐβούλετο necessitates an explanation, and the sentence having been thus interrupted is resumed again by οὖν (cp. iii, 95, 1. vi, 64, 1) after μεταπεμφάμενος.

13. τρίτῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ ἔτει] Darius succeeded in 423 B.C.; the treaty is made in 411.—ἐν Μαϊνάνδρῳ πεδίῳ: i.e. at Magnesia the principal city (except Tralles) in the plain of the Meander.

14. ξυνθήκαι ἐγένοντο] In this third treaty nothing definite is said as to any

ἐν Μαιάνδρου πεδίῳ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων πρὸς  
 Τισσαφέρην καὶ Ἰεραμένην καὶ τοὺς Φαρνάκου παῖδας περὶ τῶν  
 βασιλέως πραγμάτων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων.  
 χώραν τὴν βασιλέως, ὅση τῆς Ἀσίας ἐστί, βασιλέως εἶναι· καὶ 2  
 5 περὶ τῆς χώρας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ βουλευέτω βασιλεὺς ὅπως βούλεται.  
 Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους μὴ ἰέναι ἐπὶ χώραν τὴν 3  
 βασιλέως ἐπὶ κακῷ μηδενί, μηδὲ βασιλέα ἐπὶ τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων  
 χώραν μηδὲ τῶν ξυμμάχων ἐπὶ κακῷ μηδενί. ἦν δὲ τις Λακεδαι- 4  
 μονίων ἢ τῶν ξυμμάχων ἐπὶ κακῷ ἤ ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλέως χώραν,  
 10 Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους κωλύειν· καὶ ἦν τις ἐκ τῆς  
 βασιλέως ἤ ἐπὶ κακῷ ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους ἢ τοὺς ξυμμάχους,  
 βασιλεὺς κωλύετω. τροφὴν δὲ ταῖς ναυσὶ ταῖς νῦν παρούσαις 5  
 Τισσαφέρην παρέχειν κατὰ τὰ ξυγκείμενα μέχρι ἂν αἱ νῆες αἱ  
 βασιλέως ἔλθωσι· Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους, ἐπὶ 6  
 15 αἱ βασιλέως νῆες ἀφίκωνται, τὰς ἑαυτῶν ναὺς ἦν βούλωνται  
 τρέφειν, ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς εἶναι. ἦν δὲ παρὰ Τισσαφέρην λαμβάνειν  
 ἐθέλωσι τὴν τροφὴν, Τισσαφέρην παρέχειν, Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ καὶ  
 τοὺς ξυμμάχους τελευτῶντος τοῦ πολέμου τὰ χρήματα Τισσαφέρνει  
 ἀποδοῦναι ὅποσα ἂν λάβωσιν. ἐπὶ δὲ αἱ βασιλέως νῆες ἀφί- 7  
 20 κωνται, αἷ τε Λακεδαιμονίων νῆες καὶ αἱ τῶν ξυμμάχων καὶ αἱ  
 βασιλέως κοινῇ τὸν πόλεμον πολεμούντων καθ' ὃ τι ἂν Τισσα-  
 φέρνει δοκῇ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τοῖς ξυμμάχοις. ἦν δὲ κατα-  
 λύνειν βούλωνται [πρὸς Ἀθηναίους], ἐν ὁμοίῳ καταλύεσθαι."

18. ABEF insert κωλύειν before τελευτῶντος. 23. τοῖς ἀθηναίοις AEFM.

οἷς οἷς  
 πρὸς τοὺς ἀθηναίους G. The variation makes it almost certain that πρὸς Ἀθηναίους is  
 an interpolation.

territory of the king's outside Asia, though the terms are (no doubt purposely) left vague. This, and the formal recognition of Tissaphernes' undertaking to bring up a fleet, are so much in favour of the Lacedaemonians.

2. Ἰεραμένη] cp. Xen. *Hell.* ii, 1, 9. Hieramenes was a brother-in-law of Darius and doubtless had some command in lower Asia.

τοὺς Φαρνάκου παῖδας] i.e. Pharnabazus and his brothers, who shared the satrapy of Lesser Phrygia (Δασκυλῆτις σατραπεία). The Peloponnesian fleet now includes the 27 triremes which

Calligitus had brought over (c. 39) expressly for Pharnabazus, and he therefore becomes from henceforward a party to the proceedings.

13. κατὰ τὰ ξυγκείμενα] according to the terms agreed upon in c. 29, 2. In the following sentence Λακεδαιμονίους... τρέφειν forms the subject to ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς εἶναι. The more natural way of putting it would be ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις εἶναι τὰς ἑαυτῶν ναὺς τρέφειν.

22. καταλύνειν...καταλύεσθαι] Thuc. uses (1) καταλύνειν (intrans.), (2) καταλύνειν τὸν πόλεμον, (3) καταλύεσθαι, with the sense 'to put an end to the war'. Once

LIX. Αἱ μὲν σπονδαὶ αὐται ἐγένοντο. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα παρεσκευάζετο Τισσαφέρνης τὰς τε Φοινίσσας ναῦς ἄξων, ὥσπερ εἴρητο, καὶ τὰλλα ὅσαπερ ὑπέσχετο, καὶ ἐβούλετο παρασκευάζομενος γοῦν δηλὸς εἶναι.

LX. Βοιωτοὶ δὲ τελευτώντος ἤδη τοῦ χειμῶνος Ὀρωπὸν εἶλον 5 προδοσίᾳ Ἀθηναίων ἐμφρουρούντων. ξυνέπραξαν δὲ Ἐρετριέων τε ἄνδρες καὶ αὐτῶν Ὀρωπίων, ἐπιβουλεύοντες ἀπόστασιν τῆς Εὐβοίας· ἐπὶ γὰρ τῇ Ἐρετρίᾳ τὸ χωρίον ὃν ἀδύνατα ἦν Ἀθηναίων 10 ἔχοντων μὴ οὐ μεγάλα βλάπτειν καὶ Ἐρέτριαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Εὐβοίαν. ἔχοντες οὖν ἤδη τὸν Ὀρωπὸν ἀφικνούνται ἐς Ῥόδον οἱ 10 Ἐρετριῆς, ἐπικαλούμενοι ἐς τὴν Εὐβοίαν τοὺς Πελοποννησίους. οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὴν τῆς Χίου κακουμένης βοήθειαν μᾶλλον ὄρμητο, καὶ 3 ἄραντες πάσαις ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐκ τῆς Ῥόδου ἔπλεον. καὶ γεινόμενοι περὶ Τριόπιον καθορώσι τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ναῦς πελαγίας ἀπὸ τῆς Χάλκης πλεούσας· καὶ ὡς οὐδέτεροι ἀλλήλοις ἐπέπλεον, 15 ἀφικνούνται οἱ μὲν ἐς τὴν Σάμον, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὴν Μίλητον, καὶ ἐώρων οὐκέτι ἄνευ ναυμαχίας οἷόν τε εἶναι ἐς τὴν Χίον βοηθῆσαι. καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἐτελεύτα οὗτος, καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα τῷδε ὃν Θουκυδίδης ξυνέγραφεν.

1. τοιαῦται for αὐται B. πολέμῳ AC etc.

4. οὖν for γοῦν AEFGM.

18. ἐτελεύτα τῷ

only he has καταλύσθαι τὸν πόλεμον, viz. vi, 36, 4 τὸν ἐκεῖ πόλεμον καταλελυμένους. —ἐν ὁμοίᾳ: 'on the same footing', i.e. 'without private advantage to either'; cp. iv, 106, i. vi, 11, i. 21, 2.

3. παρασκευαζόμενος γοῦν κ.τ.λ.] 'that his preparations, if nothing else, should be evident'. γοῦν qualifies παρασκευαζόμενος, not the whole clause.

c. 60. Oropus is betrayed to the Boeotians. The Peloponnesians and Athenians return to their old stations at Miletus and Samos respectively.

6. Ἀθηναίων ἐμφρουρούντων] 'which was held by an Athenian garrison'; v. iv, 110, 2. Before the occupation of Deceleia by the Lacedaemonians, the corn from Euboea came straight across to Oropus and so by land to Athens (cp. vii, 28, 1). Some regulations as to the traffic on this road are given in C. I. A. 28, 29. For the phrase Ἀθ. ἐμφρου-

ρούντων cp. i, 103, 3 ἦν ἔτυχον ἡρηκότες νεωστὶ Λοκρῶν τῶν Ὀζολῶν ἔχοντων.

8. ἐπὶ γὰρ τῇ Ἐρετρίᾳ...ὃν] εἶναι ἐπὶ=ἐπικεῖσθαι: cp. iv, 53, 2 ἐπικεῖται δὲ (τὰ Κύθηρα) τῇ Λακωνικῇ κατὰ Μαλέαν. There is also a suggestion of a hostile sense in ἐπὶ: cp. iii, 93, 2 ὡν ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ ἐκτίζετο.—ἀδύνατα ἦν: cp. note on εὐφυλακτότερα c. 55, 1. μὴ οὐ μεγάλα βλάπτειν κ.τ.λ. implies the supposition, 'if Eretria revolted from Athens'.

14. ἀπὸ τῆς Χάλκης] Their headquarters for operations against Rhodes, c. 55, 1. The Athenians by retiring to Samos still kept between the Peloponnesians and Chios and therefore prevented their relieving it ἄνευ ναυμαχίας.—ἐώρων...οἷόν τε εἶναι: ὁρᾶν is not used elsewhere by Thuc. with the infin. But here it has the somewhat unusual sense of γινώσκειν.

18. ὁ χειμὼν ἐτελεύτα] March, 411

LXI. Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγυγνομένου θέρους ἅμα τῷ ἡρι εὐθὺς ἀρχομένῳ Δερκυλίδας τε, ἀνὴρ Σπαρτιάτης, στρατιὰν ἔχων οὐ πολλήν παρεπέμφθη περὶ ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου Ἀβυδὸν ἀποστήσων (εἰσὶ δὲ Μιλησίων ἄποικοι), καὶ οἱ Χίοι, ἐν ὧσ' αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀστυόχος 5 ἡπόρει ὥπως βοηθήσοι, ναυμαχῆσαι πιεζόμενοι τῇ πολιορκίᾳ ἠναγκάσθησαν. ἔτυχον δὲ ἔτι ἐν Ῥόδῳ. ὄντος Ἀστυόχου ἐκ τῆς 2 Μιλήτου Λέοντά τε, ἀνδρα Σπαρτιάτην, ὃς Ἀντισθένι ἐπιβάτης ξυνεξῆλθε, τοῦτον κεκομισμένοι μετὰ τὸν Πεδαρίτου θάνατον ἀρχοντα καὶ ναῦς δώδεκα, αἱ ἔτυχον φύλακες Μιλήτου οὔσαι, ὧν 10 ἦσαν Θούριαι πέντε καὶ Συρακόσiai τέσσαρες καὶ μία Ἀναίτις καὶ μία Μιλησία καὶ Λέοντος μία. ἐπεξελθόντων δὲ τῶν Χίων 3 πανδημεὶ καὶ καταλαβόντων τι ἐρυμνὸν χωρίον καὶ τῶν νεῶν αὐτοῖς ἅμα ἑξ καὶ τριάκοντα ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων δύο καὶ τριάκοντα ἀναγαγομένων ἐναυμάχησαν· καὶ καρτερᾶς γενομένης 15 ναυμαχίας οὐκ ἔλασσον ἔχοντες ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ οἱ Χίοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι (ἦδη γὰρ καὶ ὅψε' ἦν) ἀνεχώρησαν ἐς τὴν πόλιν.

3. ἐς Ἑλλησπόντον AEFGM. ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντον C. 7. ἀντισθένη στρατηγῷ E. ἀντισθένη ἀντιστρατηγῷ C[G] (these are marginal explanations of ἐπιβάτης introduced into the text). ἐπιστάτης (for ἐπιβάτης) A. 8. ξυνῆλθε ABF. C omits τοῦτον. 9. δέκα B. 15. σχόντες B. B omits αὐ before Χίοι.

B.C. The Peloponnesians have been at Rhodes since the end of 410.

cc. 61—63. Dercylidas, a Spartan, is sent with a small force to the Hellespont to induce the cities there to revolt. An indecisive action is fought off Chios. Revolt of Abydos and Lampsacus; the latter of which is immediately recovered.

2. Δερκυλίδας] Afterwards Harmost of Abydos under Lysander, and sent over by the Spartans in 399 B.C. to protect the Greek cities in Asia against the Persian king. He conquered Aeolis and gained important successes against Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus. v. Xen. *Hell.* iii, 1, 8, ff.—παρεπέμφθη περὶ: from Miletus. v. c. 62, 1.

4. ἐν ὧσ' ἡπόρει] i.e. after he had left Rhodes, while he was at Miletus with the Athenians between him and Chios. It does not refer to the old repeated requests for aid, cc. 40, 55, 56.

7. Ἀντισθένη ἐπιβάτης] ἐπιβάτης here (as in Xen. *Hell.* i, 3, 17) must mean

much the same as ἐπιστολεύς, an officer who accompanied the ναύαρχος to succeed him in case of illness or death. Antisthenes was sent out (c. 39, 2) with the commissioners to enquire into Astyochus' conduct, and the commissioners had power to appoint him to supersede Astyochus. Perhaps in view of this contingency Leon was sent as ἐπιβάτης to succeed to Antisthenes' previous command if the latter became ναύαρχος.—μετὰ τὸν Πεδ. θάνατον: v. c. 55, 3.

9. αἱ ἔτυχον φύλακες Μιλ. οὔσαι] These ships were probably left at Miletus when the Peloponnesians went to Rhodes. At least Stahl's arguments to the contrary are not very convincing. The five Thurian ships were doubtless some of those brought over by Doriaeus, c. 35, 1. Anaea is on the mainland opposite Samos. In iv, 75, 1 it serves as a retreat for Samian exiles.

15. οὐκ ἔλασσον ἔχοντες] 'having the better of it'. cp. i, 105, 5 ἐνὸρμας

LXII. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο εὐθὺς τοῦ Δερκυλίδου πεζῇ ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου παρεξελθόντος, Ἀβυδος ἐν τῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ ἀφίσταται πρὸς Δερκυλίδαν καὶ Φαρνάβαζον, καὶ Λάμφακος δυοῖν ἡμέραιν 2 ὕστερον. Στρομβιχίδης δ' ἐκ τῆς Χίου πυθόμενος κατὰ τάχος βοηθήσας ναυσὶν Ἀθηναίων τέσσαρσι καὶ εἴκοσιν, ὧν καὶ στρα- 5 τιώτιδες ἦσαν ὀπλίτας ἄγουσαι, ἐπεξελθόντων τῶν Λαμφακηνῶν μάχῃ κρατήσας καὶ αὐτοβοεὶ Λάμφακον ἀτελείστον οὖσαν ἐλῶν, καὶ σκεὺν μὲν καὶ ἀνδράποδα ἀρπαγὴν ποιησάμενος, τοὺς δὲ 3 ἐλευθέρους πάλιν κατοικήσας, ἐπ' Ἀβυδὸν ἦλθε. καὶ ὡς οὔτε προσεχώρουσιν οὔτε προσβαλὼν ἐδύνατο ἐλεῖν, ἐς τὸ ἀντιπέραι 10 τῆς Ἀβύδου ἀποπλεύσας Σηστὸν πόλιν τῆς Χερσονήσου, ἣν ποτε Μῆδοι εἶχον, καθίστατο φρούριον καὶ φυλακὴν τοῦ παντὸς Ἑλ- λησπόντου.

LXIII. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ Χιοὶ τε θαλασσοκράτορες μᾶλλον

10. προσβάλλων B. 11. τότε for ποτε ACEGM. 14. B omits ἐν τούτῳ δὲ.

αὐτοὶ ἐκάτεροι οὐκ ἔλασσον ἔχειν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ. cp. also iii, 5, 2. iv, 25, 6.—ἦδη ...καὶ ὅψε ἦν: the same phrase occurs iv, 93, 1. *praeter finitam pugnam etiam seruum erat.* Stahl. cp. i, 91, 3. vii, 6, 1.

2. Ἀβυδος...καὶ Λάμφακος] Abydos had been colonised from Miletus, Lamp-sacus jointly from Miletus and Phocaea, so that they were naturally inclined to follow the lead of Miletus.

4. ἐκ τῆς Χίου] Stahl and Classen take these words closely with βοηθήσας. But the position of πυθόμενος becomes then unintelligible. Rather ἐκ τῆς Χίου is proleptic (and to that extent due to βοηθήσας, though not really constructed with it). We should say 'Strombichides at Chios heard the news and hastened &c.'

5. ὧν καὶ στρατιώτιδες ἦσαν] cp. c. 25, 1, and note.—ἀρπαγὴν ποιησά-μενος: cp. c. 41, 2 τὴν χώραν λείαν ἐποιεῖτο.

11. ἣν ποτε Μῆδοι εἶχον] τότε (v. critical note) cannot stand with reference to an event three quarters of a century old. After the battles of Mycale and

Plataea (Sept. 479 B.C.) the Persian garrisons of the Chersonese all threw themselves into Sestos. The Athenians laid siege to it on their own account (1) because of the importance to Athens of the corn supply from the Chersonese, (2) because many of their citizens had large possessions there. As it was not properly provisioned, they starved it into submission in a few months.

12. καθίστατο φρούριον καὶ φυλακὴν κ.τ.λ.] 'he garrisoned it so as to command the whole Hellespont'. cp. iii, 92, 1 Ἡράκλειαν ἀποικίαν καθίστατο. φρούριον is merely a fortified post, φυλακὴ a post (or force) which commands a route or a country. cp. a somewhat similar passage, ii, 93, 4 φρούριον ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἦν καὶ νεῶν τριῶν φυλακὴ τοῦ μὴ ἐσπλεῖν Μεγαρεῦσι μὴδ' ἐκπλεῖν μὴδέν.

cc. 63—68. Pisander goes with a deputation from the conspirators at Samos to Athens to manage the revolution there. Others are sent to the subject states to establish oligarchies in them. The experiment is first tried at Thasos, which immediately revolts to Sparta. On arriving at Athens the deputies find their

ἐγένοντο, καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῃ καὶ ὁ Ἀστυόχος πυθόμενος τὰ περὶ τῆς ναυμαχίας καὶ τὸν Στρομβιχίδην καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἀπεληλυθότα ἐθάρσησε. καὶ παραπλεύσας δυοῖν νεοῖν Ἀστυόχος ἐς Χίον 2 κομίζει αὐτόθεν τὰς ναῦς, καὶ ξυμπάσαις ἤδη ἐπίπλουν ποιεῖται 5 ἐπὶ τὴν Σάμον· καὶ ὡς αὐτῷ διὰ τὸ ἀλλήλοις ὑπόπτως ἔχειν οὐκ ἀπαντήγοντο, ἀπέπλευσε πάλιν ἐς τὴν Μίλητον.

ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ ἔτι πρότερον ἢ ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις 3 δημοκρατία κατελέλυτο. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οἱ περὶ τὸν Πείσανδρον πρέσβεις παρὰ τοῦ Τισσαφέρνους ἐς τὴν Σάμον ἦλθον, τὰ τε ἐν 10 αὐτῷ τῷ στρατεύματι ἔτι βεβαιότερον κατέλαβον, καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν

2. τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ AC etc.

10. C omits ἔτι.

M omits αὐτῶν.

work half done by the clubs, who have organized a system of terrorism. A commission is appointed to draw up a new constitution. The council of **Four Hundred**. The assembly of **Five Thousand**.

1. οἱ ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῃ καὶ ὁ Ἀστ. πυθόμενος] cp. c. 81, 1 οἱ δὲ προστώτες ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ καὶ μάλιστα Θρασύβουλος ἀέτε τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης ἔχοντες... ἔπεισε. In each of these cases the proper name added with καὶ quite supersedes the previous plural subject, which is merely used to introduce and emphasize it. This is in some sense parallel to expressions like τοὺς τε ἄλλους ἐφόρους καὶ Ἐνδιον (viii, 12, 3). By the mention of other unimportant persons more prominence is given to the one important name, though where there is no verb to be governed, no grammatical irregularity results.—ἀπεληλυθότα: this naturally agrees with Στρομβιχίδην to the exclusion of τὰς ναῦς because, as commander, he 'goes' and takes the ships with him. His departure involves theirs, and καὶ τὰς ναῦς is thus equivalent to τὰς ναῦς ἔχοντα.

3. παραπλεύσας δυοῖν νεοῖν] No doubt his object in taking only two ships was to slip past Samos without being attacked by the Athenians there.—τὰς ναῦς: apparently 18 in all, as the 94 which he brought from Rhodes have become 112 in c. 79, 1. He must there-

fore have got back the 12 mentioned in c. 61, 2, and 6 more besides. These 6 may have been the standing force left for the protection of Chios.

7. ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον κ.τ.λ.] The overthrow of the democracy at Athens must have taken place in April 411 B.C., as the Four Hundred actually entered on their office early in May (cp. Aristot. Ἀθ. Πολ. 32). γὰρ implies that the oligarchic revolution at Athens is the explanation of διὰ τὸ ἀλλήλοις ὑπόπτως ἔχειν in the preceding sentence.

8. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] The narrative which follows, as far as c. 65, relates to Samos, so that it seems not very appropriately introduced by the words ἢ ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις δημ. κατελέλυτο. It has therefore been suggested that the previous sentence should run καὶ ἔτι πρότερον ἢ ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις ἡ δημοκρατία (i.e. ἢ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ) κατελέλυτο (J. Brandis, *Rh. Mus.* ix, p. 637). But the account of the preliminary intrigues at Samos may quite intelligibly be said to belong to the overthrow of ἢ ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις δημοκρατία.

9. παρὰ τοῦ Τισσαφέρνους] v. c. 56. The ambassadors returned after the interview with Tissaphernes in which Alcibiades succeeded in breaking off the negotiations.

τὰ τε ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ στρατεύματι... κατέλαβον] 'they still further strengthened

Σαμίων προτρέψαντο τοὺς δυνατωτάτους ὥστε πειράσθαι μετὰ σφῶν ὀλιγαρχηθῆναι, καίπερ ἐπαναστάντας αὐτοὺς ἀλλήλοις ἵνα 4 μὴ ὀλιγαρχῶνται. καὶ ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἅμα οἱ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων κοινολογούμενοι ἐσκέψαντο Ἀλκιβιάδην μὲν, ἐπειδήπερ οὐ βούλεται, εἰάν (καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἐπιτήδειον αὐτὸν εἶναι ἐς ὀλιγαρχίαν 5 ἐλθεῖν), αὐτοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν, ὡς ἤδη καὶ κινδυνεύοντας, ὁρᾶν ὅτῳ τρόπῳ μὴ ἀνεθήσεται τὰ πράγματα, καὶ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου ἅμα ἀντέχειν, καὶ ἐσφέρειν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων οἴκων προθύμως χρήματα καὶ ἦν τι ἄλλο δέη, ὡς οὐκέτι ἄλλοις ἢ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς 10 ταλαιπωροῦντας.

LXIV. Παρακελευσάμενοι οὖν τοιαῦτα τὸν μὲν Πείσανδρον εὐθὺς τότε καὶ τῶν πρέσβων τοὺς ἡμίσεις ἀπέστελλον ἐπ' οἴκου πράζοντας τάκει, καὶ εἴρητο αὐτοῖς τῶν ὑπηκόων πόλεων αἷς ἂν

1. δυνατοὺς ACEFGM. ὥσπερ for ὥστε B. 2. ἐπαναστάντες AEF. αὐτοὶ G. αὐτοῖς AEF. 13. πράζοντας AEFM (so Hude: Bekker gives πράζαντες as the reading of AEF).

their hold upon the army'. καταλαμβάνειν here is 'to grasp firmly'; cp. iii, 11, 2. 30, 3.—προτρέψαντο: the word is only used once elsewhere in Thuc. (v, 16, 3), and then in the active, but it is common in Xenophon. cp. also Herod. i, 31.

1. δυνατωτάτους] The context here requires the superlative. οἱ δυνατοί = *optimates*, who, as such, would not have needed the persuasion implied in προτρέψαντο.

2. ἐπαναστάντας αὐτοὺς ἀλλήλοις] αὐτοὺς is inserted to point the contrast between ἀλλήλοις and μετὰ σφῶν (i.e. τῶν Ἀθηναίων). They were persuaded to join the Athenians in an enterprise in which they had resolutely opposed their fellow countrymen. ἐπαναστάντας actually agrees with τοὺς δυνατωτάτους, but in sense the subject is enlarged to include the Samians in general. In a parallel case in iv, 118, 14, the enlarged subject ('Ἀθηναίους') is inserted if the MSS. may be trusted. For the Samian revolution cp. c. 21, 1.

4. ἐσκέψαντο...εἰάν] the infin. after σκέψασθαι does not occur again in Thuc.

Abresch quotes Aristid. i, p. 249 ἐσκέψαντο μεταστῆσαι πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς τὴν πόλιν, in which passage σκέψασθαι has its proper sense 'to consider the question of....' Here however the meaning is practically 'they resolved', as is shown by αὐτοὺς δὲ ...ὁρᾶν which follows. For ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς cp. c. 48, 3. 76, 3. iv, 25, 9 (ἐν ἑαυτοῖς).—οὐκ ἐπιτήδειον εἶναι: cp. Phrynichus' remarks c. 48, 4; also c. 89, 3.

7. μὴ ἀνεθήσεται] ἀνέναι τὰ πράγματα is the exact opposite of καταλαμβάνειν τὰ πράγματα (v. note on § 3).—τὰ τοῦ πολέμου ἀντέχειν: cp. c. 86, 7 τὰλλα ἐκέλευεν ἀντέχειν. τὰ τοῦ πολέμου is here acc. of reference, but it is differently used in c. 36, 1 τὰ τοῦ πολέμου ἔφερον.—ὡς οὐκέτι ἄλλοις κ.τ.λ.: cp. c. 48, 1, *ad fin.*

11. παρακελευσάμενοι] i.e. ἐν ἑαυτοῖς: cp. iv, 25, 9. vii, 44, 4.—αἷς ἂν προσσχῶσιν: the antecedent and the *preposition* which would govern it (ἐν ταῦταις) are omitted. Cp. i, 68, 3 τί δέι μακρηγορεῖν ὦν τοὺς μὲν δεδουλωμένους ὁρᾶτε..., where the sense requires περὶ τούτων before ὦν.



προσσχῶσιν ὀλιγαρχίαν καθιστάναι· τοὺς δ' ἡμίσεις ἐς τὰλλα τὰ  
 ὑπήκοα χωρία ἄλλους ἄλλη διέπεμπον. καὶ Διτρέφη, ὅντα περὶ 2  
 Χίον, ἡρημένον δὲ ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης ἀρχεῖν, ἀπέστελλον ἐπὶ τὴν  
 ἀρχήν. καὶ ἀφικόμενος ἐς τὴν Θάσον τὸν δῆμον κατέλυσε. καὶ 3  
 5 ἀπελθόντος αὐτοῦ οἱ Θάσιοι δευτέρῳ μὲν μάλιστα τὴν πόλιν  
 ἐτείχιζον, ὥς τῆς μὲν μετ' Ἀθηναίων ἀριστοκρατίας οὐδὲν ἔτι  
 προσδεόμενοι, τὴν δ' ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐλευθερίαν ὀσημέραι  
 προσδεχόμενοι. καὶ γὰρ καὶ φυγὴ αὐτῶν ἔξω ἦν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθη- 4  
 ναίων παρὰ τοῖς Πελοποννησίοις, καὶ αὕτη μετὰ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει  
 10 ἐπιτηδείων κατὰ κράτος ἔπρασε ναῦς τε κομίσαι καὶ τὴν Θάσον  
 ἀποστήσαι. ξυνέβη οὖν αὐτοῖς μάλιστα ἃ ἐβούλοντο, τὴν πόλιν  
 τε ἀκινδύνως ὀρθοῦσθαι καὶ τὸν ἐναντιωσόμενον δῆμον καταλε-  
 λῦσθαι. περὶ μὲν οὖν τὴν Θάσον τὰναντία τοῖς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν 5

1. προσχῶσιν B. προσέσχωσιν AE. προσίσχωσιν GMF. ἰσχωσιν C. 8.  
 φυγὴ τε ἦν αὐτῶν ἔξω B. 9. αὕτη BC.

2. Διτρέφη] probably the same mentioned in vii, 29, 1. It would appear from iv, 104, 4 that at that time at all events there were two στρατηγοὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης (Thucydides himself being one). ὄντα περὶ Χίον is contrasted with ἡρημένον δὲ κ.τ.λ. Diitrephes had been sent as στρατηγὸς τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης, but was still lingering about Chios.

4. ἐς τὴν Θάσον] Thasos had revolted from Athens in 465 B.C., and was only subdued after a blockade of nearly three years. Its fortifications were then razed, its fleet taken away, and its mines on the Thracian mainland confiscated. Thucydides tells us that at the time of their revolt the Thasians had proposed to Sparta to make a diversion in their favour by invading Attica, and that the Spartans were only prevented from doing so by the revolt of the Helots. v. 1, 101, 3.

6. τῆς μετ' Ἀθηναίων ἀριστοκρατίας] The promoters of the Revolution called their new constitution ἀριστοκρατία to avoid frightening their supporters by the mention of oligarchy. cp. iii, 82, 8 μετ' ὀνόματος ἐκάτεροι εὐπρεποῦς, πλῆθους τε ἰσονομίας πολιτικῆς (for democracy)

καὶ ἀριστοκρατίας σῶφρονος προτιμήσει (for oligarchy). For Aristotle's definition of the difference between Aristocracy and Oligarchy v. *Pol.* iv, 7, ff.

8. φυγὴ αὐτῶν ἔξω ἦν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθ.] φυγὴ=φυγάδες. Classen compares αἱ ἐκδρομαὶ iv, 127, 2. ἡ κύκλωσις iv, 128, 1; add ἡ δουλεία v, 23, 3. φυγὴ is also so used by Xen. *Hell.* v, 2, 9, and Isocr. viii, 123. For ἔξω ἦν cp. iv, 66, 2 οἱ δὲ φίλοι τῶν ἔξω (i.e. τῶν ἐκπεπωκότων).

10. ἔπρασε] 'Was intriguing (before Diitrephes' arrival)'. πρᾶσσειν with the infin. alone does not occur elsewhere in Thuc. It is followed by ὥστε with the infin. in v, 78.

12. ὀρθοῦσθαι] 'was being well administered'—i.e. from the point of view of the oligarchs. cp. Plato *Legg.* xii, 957 D ἃ δεῖ κεκτημένον ἐν αὐτῷ...τὸν ἀγαθὸν δικαστὴν αὐτὸν τε ὀρθοῦν καὶ τὴν πόλιν. Note the change of tense;—the state was being well administered, the demos was already disposed of.

13. τὰναντία τοῖς τὴν ὀλιγ. καθιστάσιν] 'The result went entirely against the interests of the promoters of the oligarchy'. For ἐναντίος with the dat.

καθιστᾶσι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐγένετο, δοκεῖν δέ μοι καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις πολλοῖς τῶν ὑπηκόων· σωφροσύνην γὰρ λαβοῦσαι αἱ πόλεις καὶ ἄδειαν τῶν πρᾶσσομένων ἐχώρησαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀντικρυς ἐλευθερίαν, τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑποῦλου εὐνομίας οὐ προτιμήσαντες.

LXV. Οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Πείσανδρον παραπλέοντές τε, ὥσπερ 5 ἐδέδοκτο, τοὺς δήμους ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι κατέλυνον, καὶ ἅμα ἔστιν ἀφ' ὧν χωρίων καὶ ὀπλίτας ἔχοντες σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ξυμμάχους ἦλθον ἐς

1. δοκεῖ AC etc. 4. The original reading of B appears to have been τῆς... ὑποῦλου εὐνομίας (now altered to τῆς... ὅπουλον εὐνομίας). τὴν... ὅπουλον εὐνομίαν C. τὴν... ὅπουλον αὐτονομίαν AEFGM. v. note. 7. ἔχοντας AEF. αὐτοὺς ACEFM. αὐτοῖς B.

of the person in this sense cp. iv, 130, 4 τοὺς ἐναντία σφίσι μετ' αὐτῶν πράξαντας.

1. δοκεῖν δέ μοι] cp. vi, 18, 4. 25, 2. vii, 87, 5. With parenthetical infinitives other than δοκεῖν and εἶναι Thuc. generally has ὥς, or ὅσον (γε). For the whole usage v. Goodwin *M. and T.* §§ 776 ff.

2. σωφροσύνην γὰρ λαβοῦσαι] cp. c. 53, 3, and note. For λαβοῦσαι cp. i, 91, 1 καὶ ἡδὴ ὅσος λαμβάνει (τὰ τελεῖ). iii, 62, 5 τοὺς νόμους λαβεῖν.

4. τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑποῦλου εὐνομίας] This reading is preserved by Dionysius Hal. (p. 800) who criticises unfavourably the use of the genitive. Dionysius is a much older authority than our mss., though using apparently a ms. related pretty closely to an ancestor of C (v. Léon Sadée, *Dissert. Argentor.* ii, 140), and it is difficult to suppose that he can have been so careless as to misquote the very point which he is criticising (*viz.* the gen. case). Moreover προτιμᾶν with the gen. is supported by Eur. *Alc.* 761—2, Aristoph. *Plut.* 883, Dem. *περὶ Ἀλόν.* p. 80, l. 22. In deciding between εὐνομίας and αὐτονομίας Dionysius' authority alone would not be worth much. He elsewhere gives a measure of his accuracy by quoting, as genuine words of Thucydides, ἥ τε οὐκ ἀποτελεῖσις τοῦ Πλημμυρίου (which does not occur), and τὸ μὲν βουλόμενον οὐκ ἀφῆρθέσαν (where the mss. are

obviously correct in reading τὸ μὲν ἐπιθυμοῦν τοῦ πλοῦ οὐκ ἐξῆρθέσαν). But the Scholiast here agrees with him, and the correction from εὐνομίας to αὐτονομίας can be explained much more easily than the reverse, for εὐνομίας is not nearly so obvious or taking a reading as αὐτονομίας. It will however make good sense. We see from the counter arguments of Phrynichus in c. 48, 6, 7, that the oligarchs claimed that their government would show more regard for the public and private interests of the allies—would in fact give them εὐνομία,—and this is also implied by the assertion that σωφροσύνη is characteristic of oligarchy. The metaphor of ὅπουλος (not found elsewhere in Thuc., though frequent in Plutarch) seems also more appropriate to εὐνομία than to αὐτονομία. Lastly there are other instances in which the combined authority of the mss. has to be disregarded, e.g. c. 49, 1, where ξυνωμοσία is universally accepted for ξυμμαχία. προτιμήσαντες (which Dionysius also criticises) is masc. by a natural transition of ideas from the states to the men who compose them; cp. i, 7, where ἑκαστοὶ and ἀνφικισμένοι should strictly agree with πόλεις.

7. καὶ ὀπλίτας ἔχοντες] καὶ means that besides interfering with political matters, they moreover took some military force with them.—ξυμμάχους: 'supporters', to assist them in their enterprise.

τὰς Ἀθήνας. καὶ καταλαμβάνουσι τὰ πλείστα τοῖς ἐταίροις προ- 2  
 ειργασμένα. καὶ γὰρ Ἀνδροκλέα τέ τινα τοῦ δήμου μάλιστα προ-  
 εστῶτα ξυστάντες τινὲς τῶν νεωτέρων κρύφα ἀποκτείνουσιν, ὅσπερ  
 καὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐξήλασε, καὶ αὐτὸν κατ' ἀμφοτέρα,  
 5 τῆς τε δημαγωγίας ἔνεκα καὶ οἰόμενοι τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ ὡς κατιόντι καὶ  
 τὸν Τισσαφέρην φίλον ποιήσουσι χαριεῖσθαι, μᾶλλον τι διέφθειραν·  
 καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς ἀνεπιτηδέους τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ κρύφα ἀνήλωσαν.  
 λόγος τε ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ προσείργαστο αὐτοῖς ὡς οὔτε μισθοφορη- 3  
 τέον εἶη ἄλλους ἢ τοὺς στρατευομένους, οὔτε μεθεκτέον τῶν

8. προσείργαστο CG (G corrected by later hand to προσείργαστο).

ξύμαχος is not very common in this sense in Thuc. and when it does occur is generally used in cases of actual στάσις where the adversaries may be regarded as πολέμοι and the friends therefore as ξύμαχοι. cp. iii, 47, 3, and 73.

1. τοῖς ἐταίροις] cp. c. 48, 3-54, 4, with notes *ad locc.*

2. καὶ γὰρ Ἀνδροκλέα] answering to καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς ἀνεπιτηδέους..., the words καὶ αὐτὸν...διέφθειραν being parenthetical. This Androcles was a demagogue who according to Plutarch (*Alc.* 19) produced slaves and metoeci as witnesses to prove Alcibiades guilty of mutilating the Hermae and holding mock celebrations of the Eleusinian mysteries.

6. μᾶλλον τι] The latter part of this sentence is very like i, 49, 3, where also two reasons are given, one by a preposition clause, one by a participle, and μᾶλλον τι is attached to the second. οὐ βραδίως ἀπελόντο ὑπὸ τε πλῆθους καὶ ὄχλου τῶν νεῶν καὶ μᾶλλον τι πιστεύοντες τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος ὀπλίταις. A comparison of the two passages shows that μᾶλλον τι does not belong to any particular word, but emphasizes the second reason as the principal one. They killed Androcles on general grounds because he was a demagogue, but *principally* because they thought &c.

7. ἀνεπιτηδέους] sc. τοῖς πρᾶσσομένοις. cp. c. 54, 3 οὐ νομῶν ἐπιτήθειον εἶναι τοῖς πρὸς τὸν Ἀλκ. πρᾶσσομένοις.

8. προσείργαστο] This seems on

the whole to give better sense than προειργαστο. The preliminary work (προειργασμένα § 2) of the clubs is followed by the assassination of Androcles, and both these are supplemented (προσειργαστο λόγος) by disseminating the opinion here mentioned.

μισθοφορτέον...ἄλλους] The insertion of the subject in the acc. after verbal adjectives in -τέος is irregular though not uncommon; cp. Plat. *Gorg.* 507 D. μισθοφορτέον εἶη is regarded as equivalent to δέοι μισθοφορεῖν. Indeed sometimes the verbal adj. and an infinitive are interchanged in the same sentence. cp. Plat. *Gorg.* 492 D τὰς ἐπιθυμίας φῆς οὐ κολαστέον...ἐὼντα δὲ αὐτὰς ὡς μεγίστας πλήρωσιν...ἐτοιμάζειν, i.e. (φῆς δεῖν) ἐτοιμάζειν, as if κολαστέον had been δεῖν κολάζειν.

9. ἢ τοὺς στρατευομένους] The hoplite's pay with his allowance for food ordinarily amounted to 4 obols a day; sometimes however it was much higher (cp. iii, 17). Bouleutai were paid a drachma a day, dicasts (from 425 to 411 B.C.) 3 obols. The total yearly amount of the dicasts' fees was probably not much above 100 talents. There was no fee for attendance in the Ecclesia at this time,—probably not till the archonship of Euclides (403 B.C.). In the newly discovered treatise of Aristotle on the Constitution of Athens, it is stated (c. 29) that the archons and the prytaneis were still to receive three obols *per diem*.

μεθεκτέον τῶν πραγμάτων] 'should

πραγμάτων πλείοσιν ἢ πεντακισχιλίοις, καὶ τούτοις οἱ ἂν μάλιστα τοῖς τε χρήμασι καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ὠφελεῖν οἰοί τε ὦσιν.

LXVI. Ἦν δὲ τοῦτο εὐπρεπὲς πρὸς τοὺς πλείους, ἐπεὶ ἔξιν γε τὴν πόλιν οἵπερ καὶ μεθίστασαν ἔμελλον. δῆμος μέντοι ὅμως ἔτι καὶ βουλή ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ κυάμου ξυνελέγето· ἐβουλευόντο δὲ οὐδὲν 5 ὅ τι μὴ τοῖς ξυνεστῶσι δοκοίη, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ λέγοντες ἐκ τούτων 2 ἦσαν καὶ τὰ ῥηθησόμενα πρότερον αὐτοῖς προύσκεπτο. ἀντέλεγέ τε οὐδεὶς ἔτι τῶν ἄλλων, δεδιὼς καὶ ὀρῶν πολὺ τὸ ξυνεστηκός· εἰ δέ τις καὶ ἀντείποι, εὐθύς ἐκ τρόπου τινὸς ἐπιτηδεῖον ἐτεθνήκει, καὶ τῶν δρασάντων οὔτε ζήτησις οὔτ' εἰ ὑποπτεύοντο δικαίωσις ἐγγίγντο, 10

4. μεθίσταναι ACM[G]. μεθιστᾶναι EF. *qui immutarent* Valla. 5. ἐβούλευον CG. v. note. 7. προύσκεπτετο MSS. corrected by Bauer. The pres. and imperf. in good Attic are supplied from *προσκοπεῖν*.

share in the government'. cp. the similar phrases οἱ ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν iii, 28, 1. οἱ ἔχοντες τὰ πράγματα iii, 7, 2.

οὔτε...πεντακισχιλίοις] cp. Aristot. 'Αθ. Πολ. 29 τὴν δ' ἄλλην πολιτείαν ἐπιτρέψαι πᾶσιν Ἀθηναίων τοῖς δυνατωτάτοις καὶ τοῖς σώμασι καὶ τοῖς χρήμασι λητούργειν μὴ ἔλαττον ἢ πεντακισχιλίοις. This limitation of the franchise to those who could afford to serve the state for nothing, and who might be considered to 'have a stake in the country', was a favourite reform with the Middle Party; v. Theramenes' remarks in Xen. *Hell.* ii, 3, 48, and cp. Thuc. vi, 39, 1. οἱ πλείους in the following sentence refers to the Middle Party, who were numerous as compared with the extreme oligarchs.

4. οἵπερ καὶ μεθίστασαν] The imperf. indic. fits the sense better than the infin., and on that ground I have kept it. But the circumflex accent in EF may perhaps point to some third reading which is lost.

5. βουλή ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ κυάμου] Originally so called to distinguish it from ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλή. This βουλή remained nominally in office till the 14th of Thargelion (May); v. Aristot. 'Αθ. Πολ. 32.

ἐβουλευόντο δὲ οὐδὲν] Böhme keeps ἐβούλευον, and the active is certainly

used of the Boule, and even of the ecclesia (cp. c. 53, 3). But as a general rule βουλεύειν τι means to give advice (cp. iii, 42, 5. viii, 76, 6) while βουλευεσθαι τι is used for deciding upon anything in debate (cp. v, 18, 8. vi, 23, 3), and there seems no reason for departing from the ordinary usage here.

8. δεδιὼς καὶ ὀρῶν] Thuc. forgets that the subject of his sentence is merely a negation, and makes the participles agree with it. Krüger (*Dionys.* p. 116) says *ἐκαστος* must be supplied from οὐδεὶς, which is perhaps too logical a way of treating what is really carelessness in composition. The passage in iv, 10, 1, frequently quoted as parallel to this, is not really so.

9. ἐκ τρόπου τινὸς ἐπιτηδεῖον] Arn. quotes Dion Cass. *fr.* 23 πολλοὺς...ἐκ τρόπου δὴ τινος ἐπιτηδεῖον ἐφθεῖρον. The pluperf. ἐτεθνήκει expresses abruptness and finality. cp. vii, 86, 5 (where Nicias' death is described) ἀπέκτειναν αὐτόν. καὶ ὁ μὲν τοιαύτη αἰτία ἐτεθνήκει. v. Krüger. *Gr.* § 53, 4, note 2. Goodwin *M. and T.* § 52.

τῶν δρασάντων...δικαίωσις] οἱ δράσαντες is often used as a synonym for οἱ αἰτιοί, 'the culprits'; cp. vi, 27, 2. 60, 2. δικαίωσις here follows the older meaning of δικαιοῦν 'to condemn'; cp. Herod.

ἀλλ' ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν ὁ δῆμος καὶ κατὰπληξιν τοιαύτην ὥστε κέρδος ὁ μὴ πάσχωεν τι βίαιον, εἰ καὶ σιγή, ἐνόμιζε. καὶ τὸ ξυνεστηκὸς 3 πολὺ πλεον ἡγούμενοι εἶναι ἢ ὅσον ἐτύγχανεν ὃν ἡσσῶντο ταῖς γνώμαις, καὶ ἐξευρεῖν αὐτὸ ἀδύνατοι ὄντες διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς 5 πόλεως καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀλλήλων ἀγνωσίαν οὐκ εἶχον. κατὰ δὲ ταῦτ' 4 τοῦτο καὶ προσολοφύρασθαι τι ἀγανακτήσαντα, ὥστε ἀμύνασθαι ἐπιβουλευσάντα, ἀδύνατον ἦν· ἡ γὰρ ἀγνώτα ἂν εὔρεν ὃ ἐρεῖ ἡ

3. δ ἦν for ὃν MSS. corrected by Portus (M gives ἡ ὅσον ἦν). 4. αὐτοὶ ἀδύνατοι ABEFM. 5. CG omit διὰ before τὴν ἀλλ. ἀγν. οὐκ εἶχον αὐτοὶ ἐξευρεῖν AB EF. αὐτὸ ἐξευρεῖν MG (αὐτὸ in G is a correction by a later hand). 6. ἀμύνεσθαι GM.

i, 100. iii, 29 (the middle is used by Thuc. in a similar sense in iii, 40, 4). The meaning is 'the guilty were not brought to justice'.—κέρδος...ἐνόμιζε: viz. τὸ μὴ πάσχειν τι βίαιον. For κέρδος νομίζειν, ἡγεῖσθαι, cp. ii, 44, 4. iii, 33, 3. vii, 68, 3.

3. ἡσσῶντο ταῖς γνώμαις] cp. vi, 72, 3 τὴν μὲν γὰρ γνώμην αὐτῶν οὐχ ἡσσησθαι. vii, 71, 3 τὴν γνώμην ἐδουλοῦντο.

4. ἐξευρεῖν...οὐκ εἶχον] v. crit. note. In a case like this where there is evident corruption in the text, and the MSS. give no real assistance, the best reading is that which will best account for the actual state of the MSS. This clearly points to getting rid of the αὐτο[ι] ἐξευρεῖν after εἶχον. The words οὐκ εἶχον by themselves might seem isolated at the end of the sentence, and it is no more surprising that a scribe should have added αὐτὸ ἐξευρεῖν to explain them, than it is that at the end of § 2 the Scholiast notes down τὸ μὴ πάσχειν as the object after ἐνόμιζε. On the other hand to cut out the first ἐξευρεῖν αὐτο[ι] as spurious naturally leads to the further omission of ἀδύνατοι ὄντες, as the sentence will otherwise read very awkwardly. Class. accordingly brackets all four words. But I see no possible reason for their having crept into the text if not genuine, as they only encumber what without them would be a perfectly straightforward sentence. If we admit however

that the sentence originally ended with εἶχον and that αὐτο[ι] ἐξευρεῖν is a gloss, it becomes almost certain that the original reading (in the earlier part) was αὐτὸ ἀδύνατοι ὄντες. If it had been αὐτοὶ ἀδύνατοι ὄντες the sense must have been 'they could not find out of themselves, and the size of the city and mutual distrust prevented their finding out through others'. In this case the words to supply after εἶχον would have been ἀλλοθεν ἐξευρεῖν, or possibly ἐξευρεῖν alone, certainly not αὐτοὶ (or even αὐτὸ) ἐξευρεῖν. Doubtless the gloss as originally supplied was αὐτὸ ἐξευρεῖν (still retained in M) derived from the true reading ἐξευρεῖν αὐτὸ at the beginning of the sentence. The alteration to αὐτοὶ ἀδύνατοι, followed by a corresponding alteration in the gloss, is absolutely in accordance with the practice of the MSS.

5. κατὰ δὲ ταῦτ' τοῦτο] i.e. κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὴν ἀλλήλων ἀγνωσίαν, which is really one idea.—ὥστε ἀμύνεσθαι ἐπιβουλευσάντα: 'so as to plot revenge' (i.e. for the injury which is implied in προσολοφύρασθαι), Class. If ἐπιβουλευσάντα were the object after ἀμύνεσθαι (Arn.) it would have the article. For the aor. part. cp. note on παρεσκευάζοντο...τευχίσαντες c. 4, 1.

7. ὃ ἐρεῖ] 'to whom he was going to speak'. Class. compares iii, 16, 3. iv, 22, 1. viii, 1, 3. For the construction v. Madv. *Synt.* § 117, *Rem.* 2.—ἡ γνώριμον

5 γινώριμον ἄπιστον. ἀλλήλοις γὰρ ἅπαντες ὑπόπτως προσῆσαν οἱ τοῦ δήμου, ὥς μετέχοντά τινα τῶν γυγνομένων. ἐνήσαν γὰρ καὶ οὓς οὐκ ἂν ποτέ τις ᾤετο ἐς ὀλιγαρχίαν τραπέσθαι· καὶ τὸ ἄπιστον οὗτοι μέγιστον †πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς† ἐποίησαν, καὶ πλείστα ἐς τὴν τῶν ὀλίγων ἀσφάλειαν ὠφέλησαν, βέβαιον τὴν ἀπιστίαν τῷ 5 δήμῳ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν καταστήσαντες.

LXVII. Ἐν τούτῳ οὖν τῷ καιρῷ οἱ περὶ τὸν Πείσανδρον ἐλθόντες εὐθὺς τῶν λοιπῶν εἶχοντο. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὸν δήμον ξυλλέξαντες εἶπον γνῶμην δέκα ἄνδρας ἐλέσθαι ξυγγραφέας αὐτο-

4. Perhaps we should read πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους. *v. note.*

**ἄπιστον:** *i.e.* if ἄγνως he distrusted him on general grounds, if γινώριμος he had special grounds of suspicion.

1. **ὑπόπτως προσῆσαν]** 'were distrustful in making advances to one another'. Not 'were suspicious in their intercourse with one another'. Thuc. does not use *προσιέναι* in that sense.—**οἱ τοῦ δήμου:** the same phrase for *οἱ πολλοί* occurs in v, 4, 4. *cp.* also c. 98, 1 *δοί* ἦσαν τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας μάλιστα.

2. **ὥς μετέχοντά τινα].** The accusative absolute of the participle, when personal, is regularly introduced by *ὥς*: the negative is *οὐ* not *μή*. *ὥς* indicates that the fact mentioned has relation to some person's thoughts or motives. For a few exceptional instances, where *ὥς* is omitted, *v. Goodwin M. and T. § 843.* But most of them are open to doubt.

3. **οὐκ ἂν ποτε] ἂν ποτε** go with *τραπέσθαι*. Perhaps these men, Pisander, Charicles and the rest, may have been oligarchs who had assumed the disguise of democrats in order more effectually to undermine the democracy. *v. Whibley, Pol. Parties in Athens, p. 89.*

**καὶ τὸ ἄπιστον ... ἐποίησαν]** This clause appears to anticipate in a very clumsy way the concluding words of the sentence. Stahl accordingly brackets it, but Classen points out that *οὗτοι* is needed as subject to *ὠφέλησαν*, and more-

over the clause in itself hardly looks like an interpolation. There is however a difficulty in the meaning which has not I think been recognised. *τὸ ἄπιστον* must here mean 'the want of confidence', *i.e.* *τὴν ἀπιστίαν*, and *μέγιστην ποιῶν τὴν ἀπιστίαν πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς* could hardly mean anything else than 'to cause the greatest distrust of the democrats' (*cp. ἀπιστίαν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν* in the same sentence). 'To cause suspicion among the democrats' would require *τοῖς πολλοῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους*. The words therefore, as they stand, are not only awkward but directly opposed to the required sense. A slight alteration of *πολλοὺς* to *ἄλλους* (*v. crit. note*) will make them intelligible enough. The general statement that these men made 'the rest' suspected will thus lead on naturally to *βέβαιον τὴν ἀπιστίαν τῷ δήμῳ κ.τ.λ.* The close proximity of *τῶν ὀλίγων* would be quite sufficient to account for the introduction of *τοὺς πολλοὺς* with a vague idea of antithesis.

8. **τῶν λοιπῶν εἶχοντο]** *ἔχεσθαι* here = *capessere*; *cp. i, 49, 6. ii, 2, 4.* But the more usual sense with the gen. is 'to hold fast to'; *cp. i, 140, 1. viii, 81, 1.*

9. **δέκα ἄνδρας ἐλέσθαι]** Aristotle ('*Αθ. πολ.* 29) states that on the motion of Pythodorus a board of 30 *ξυγγραφεῖς* was formed by adding 20 persons to the 10 *πρόβουλοι* already existing (*v. Introd. p.*

κράτορας, τούτους δὲ ξυγγράψαντας γνώμην ἐσενεγκεῖν ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐς ἡμέραν ῥητὴν καθ' ὃ τι ἄριστα ἢ πόλις οἰκίσηται. ἔπειτα 2 ἐπειδὴ ἡ ἡμέρα ἐφῆκε, ξυνέκλησαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐς τὸν Κολωνόν (ἔστι δὲ ἱερὸν Ποσειδώνος ἔξω πόλεως ἀπέχον σταδίου μάλιστα 5 δέκα), καὶ ἐσήνεγκαν οἱ ξυγγραφεῖς ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο, ἐξεῖναι μὲν [Ἀθηναίων] ἀνατεῖ εἰπεῖν γνώμην ἣν ἂν τις βούληται.

3. G alone gives ἡ (partly erased) before ἡμέρα. ξυνέλεξαν (for ξυνέκλησαν) C. συνέλεξαν ξυνέκλεισαν G (but ξυνέκλεισαν is a correction). ξυνέκλεισεν B. 6. ἀνειπεῖν for ἀνατεῖ εἰπεῖν BGM. ἀνατρέπειν ACEF. v. note.

xcii). cp. Harpocration (s. v. ξυγγραφείς) ἦσαν δὲ οἱ μὲν πάντες συγγραφεῖς τριάκοντα οἱ τότε αἰραθέντες, καθά φησιν 'Ἀνδροτιῶν τε καὶ Φιλόχορος ἑκάτερος ἐν τῇ Ἀτθίδι. ὁ δὲ Θουκυδίδης τῶν δέκα ἐμνημόνευσε μόνων τῶν προβούλων. cp. Suidas s. v. προβούλοι. It is hardly possible that the phrase, δέκα ἄνδρας ἐλέσθαι can refer to the original πρόβουλοι, and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Thuc. is here writing on meagre information which he would have corrected and supplemented if he had lived to revise the book. We find other allusions to ξυγγραφεῖς who were employed to draft decrees for the Boule, e.g. in an inscription discovered at Eleusis which is certainly earlier than the Sicilian expedition; v. *Bulletin de Corresp. Hell.* 1880, p. 225. Probably they were not a permanent Board, but were appointed as required.

3. ξυνέκλησαν...ἐς τὸν Κολωνόν] For a clear account of the topography of Colonus, v. Prof. Jebb, *Æd. Col.* Introd. p. xxx ff. There seems no need to suppose with Curtius that any special enclosure was made. Perhaps the unusual expression ξυνέκλησαν may hint that the object of the conspirators in avoiding the Pnyx, was to get the assembly more under their control in a place less liable to interruption. At all events it seems probable that many of the more extreme democrats would hesitate to appear at an assembly more than a mile from the city which was avowedly summoned for

purposes of oligarchic revolution. The ἱερὸν here must include the τέμενος in which the ecclesia was actually held. Prof. Jebb refers ξυνέκλησαν merely to the limit imposed by the temenos itself, round the boundary of which the περίστια would naturally be carried, thus 'shutting in' the ecclesia within the lustral line. This is doubtless what primarily makes the word appropriate, whether there is any conscious reference or not.—ἄλλο μὲν ...τοῦτο: the same expression (in the plural) occurs i, 139, 3.

6. ἐξεῖναι μὲν...βούληται] The mss. clearly need correction. ἀνειπεῖν γνώμην for εἰπεῖν γνώμην is an impossible phrase; but no emendation can pretend to be satisfactory which does not offer some explanation of the variant ἀνατρέπειν. This seems to me fatal to the suggestion of Wilamowitz-M. (accepted by Classen) who would read ἀζήμιον εἰπεῖν. It is just possible that ἀζήμιον might have been corrupted into Ἀθηναίων, but there would have been no sufficient reason for mistaking or tampering with εἰπεῖν. On the other hand Sauppe's ingenious correction ἀνατεῖ εἰπεῖν would entirely dispose of the difficulty of accounting for ἀνατρέπειν. It would seem indeed almost certain that one εἰ would be dropped out, and ἀνατειπεῖν be changed into the nearest intelligible word. The adverb ἀνατεῖ is in itself by no means unsuitable. cp. Plat. *Legg.* 871 E ἀνατεῖ κτενέτω, 917 C ἀνατεῖ τυπτέτω τις, 935 B κολαζέτω δὲ ὁ τοῦτων

ἦν δέ τις τὸν εἰπόντα ἢ γράφηται παρανόμων ἢ ἄλλῃ τῇ τρόπῳ  
3 βλάβῃ, μεγάλας ζημίας ἐπέθεσαν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ λαμπρῶς ἐλέγετο  
ἤδη μήτε ἀρχὴν ἀρχεῖν μηδεμίαν ἔτι ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κόσμου μήτε  
μισθοφορεῖν, προέδρους τε ἐλέσθαι πέντε ἄνδρας, τούτους δὲ  
ἐλέσθαι ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας, καὶ τῶν ἑκατὸν ἕκαστον πρὸς ἑαυτὸν 5  
τρεῖς. ἐλθόντας δὲ αὐτοὺς τετρακοσίους ὄντας ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον  
ἀρχεῖν ὅπῃ ἂν ἄριστα γινώσκωσιν αὐτοκράτορας, καὶ τοὺς πεντα-  
κισχιλίους δὲ ξυλλέγειν ὅπῃ αὐτοῖς δοκῇ.

LXVIII. Ἦν δὲ ὁ μὲν τὴν γνώμην ταύτην εἰπὼν Πείσανδρος,  
καὶ ἄλλα ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς προθυμότατα ξυγκαταλύσας τὸν 10  
δῆμον· ὁ μέντοι ἅπαν τὸ πρᾶγμα ξυνθεὶς ὅτῳ τρόπῳ κατέστη ἐς

#### II. κατέστησε τοῦτο B.

ἀρχῶν ἕκαστον ἀνατεῖ. And even without this support it would be hardly necessary to apologise for ἀνατεῖ in a book where πασυνδὶ and ἀνακῶς occur. Whether Ἀθηναίων can remain in its present position, with nothing nearer than τις to govern it, may be regarded as doubtful. It is worth noticing however that Aristotle (Ἀθ. πολ. 29) has ὅπως ἂν οἱ ἐθέλοντες Ἀθηναῖοι συμβουλευῶσι περὶ τῶν προκειμένων, with reference to the passing of the same decree. I have therefore followed Stahl (who now adopts Sauppe's emendation ἀνατεῖ) in leaving Ἀθηναίων as part of the text, but bracketing it.

1. ἢ γράφηται παρανόμων] For the γραφή παρανόμων v. Schömann *Griech. Alt.* i, 497 ff. (2nd ed.). He points out that it was the constitutional protection (1) against unprincipled statesmen, (2) against the impulses of a too numerous and therefore somewhat irresponsible assembly—i.e. it was designed to meet exactly such cases as the present.

2. λαμπρῶς] cp. i, 49, 6. ii, 7, 1. viii, 75, 2. And the adj. λαμπρός has the same meaning vii, 55, 1.—ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κόσμου: 'as at present established'; cp. iv, 76, 2 μεταστῆσαι τὸν κόσμον 'to change the established government'. For the abolition of pay v. c. 65, 3, and note.

4. προέδρους τε ἐλέσθαι πέντε ἄνδρας

κ.τ.λ.] For the discrepancies in Aristotle's account v. *Introd.* p. xxii ff. According to him the constitution of the Four Hundred was not determined till afterwards. He says that the Five Thousand (apparently at this ecclesia) appointed a hundred men to draw up a scheme of government. In this scheme it was provided that (for the following year only) the βουλὴ should consist of 400 elected by the φυλῆται, 40 from each tribe. v. Ἀθ. πολ. 31. This election by the φυλῆται is also alluded to by Lysias, ὑπὲρ Πολουστράτου § 2.

5. πρὸς ἑαυτὸν] πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐλέσθαι, 'to coöpt', more commonly προσελέσθαι (with or without ἑαυτῷ); cp. iv, 29, 1. But here ἐλέσθαι has to do duty for both parts of the sentence.

7. καὶ τοὺς πεντακισχιλίους] cp. c. 65, 3. We are there told that there had been talk of limiting the franchise to 5000, and it appears from Aristot. Ἀθ. πολ. c. 29, *ad fin.* that it was resolved at this same assembly to appoint 100 men to draw up a list of the 5000. But the list was never published. v. Ἀθ. πολ. c. 32, and Thuc. viii, 92, 11.

c. 68. Description of the three revolutionary leaders, Antiphon, Phrynichus, and Theramenes.

11. ὁ μέντοι ἅπαν τὸ πρᾶγμα ξυνθεὶς κ.τ.λ.] 'The contriver of the whole scheme who guided it to success, and had



τοῦτο καὶ ἐκ πλείστου ἐπιμεληθεὶς Ἀντιφῶν ἦν ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναίων τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀρετῇ τε οὐδενὸς δεύτερος καὶ κράτιστος ἐνθυμηθῆναι γενόμενος καὶ ἃ γνολὴ εἰπεῖν, καὶ ἐς μὲν δῆμον οὐ παριῶν οὐδ' ἐς ἄλλον ἀγῶνα ἐκούσιος οὐδένα, ἀλλ' ὑπόπτως τῷ πλήθει 5 διὰ δόξαν δεινότητος διακείμενος, τοὺς μέντοι ἀγωνιζομένους καὶ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ καὶ ἐν δῆμῳ πλείστα εἰς ἀνὴρ, ὅστις ξυμβουλευσάιτό τι, δυνάμενος ὠφελεῖν. καὶ αὐτός τε, ἐπειδὴ μετ...[ἐστὴ ἡ δημοκρατία 2

2. ἀρετῇ γε AEF. G. δεύτερος AC etc. 3. ἃ δὲ γνολὴ ABM. ἀναγνολὴ E. ἀν δ γνολὴ F. 4. ἐκούσιος AEFGM; which may be right. 7. Most editors give αὐτὸς δέ, without MS. authority. Perhaps Shilleto's defence of καὶ ναυτικῷ τε in i, 9, 3, may be allowed to justify τε here. But in c. 14, 2, and c. 76, 5, there are very similar instances where τε can hardly stand. In ABEF the words from ἐπειδὴ to τὰ τῶν τετρ. occur as given in the text but without any sign of omission or irregularity. CG give ἐπειδὴ τὰ τῶν τετρακοσίων, omitting all between; (μετὰ is substituted for τὰ by a later hand in G, and τὰ written over μετὰ in A). M has ἐπειδὴ μετὰ τῶν τετρ. v. note.

made it his business for the longest time'. ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ἐπιμελητής, are used of certain Boards of Inspectors in the public service, e.g. τῶν νεωρίων.

1. Ἀντιφῶν] Prof. Jebb's account of Antiphon's life (*Att. Or.* vol. i, c. i) should be read. He sums up Antiphon's ability as 'the power of a subtle and quick mind backed by a thorough command of the new rhetoric' (κράτιστος ἐνθυμηθῆναι γενόμενος καὶ ἃ γνολὴ εἰπεῖν), and points out that the suspicion with which this newly developed rhetoric was regarded brought Antiphon into ill repute for δεινότητος. Antiphon is now about 70 years old.

2. ἀρετῇ τε οὐδενὸς δεύτερος] It is impossible to decide with certainty whether it is more likely that δεύτερος was changed in all but one MS. into a simpler and commoner word, or that δεύτερος was somewhat pedantically emended by B on the strength of such passages as ii, 97, 5. (cp. Herod. i, 23.) The former alternative seems on the whole preferable. As to the ἀρετῇ of Antiphon, Prof. Jebb suggestively remarks that it means those qualities of a public man which would appeal to his party, and

which may be collected from iii, 82, 4 ff. Chief among them are ἀνδρία φιλέταιρος, and τὸ πρὸς ἅπαν ξυνετόν.

4. ὑπόπτως τῷ πλήθει διακείμενος] cp. c. 38, 3, and note. Thuc. seems always to use διακείσθαι of a passive condition; cp. i, 75, 1 ἐπιφθόνως διακείσθαι 'to be the object of (not to feel) jealousy'. Of an active condition he uses ἔχειν, e.g. c. 63, 2 ὑπόπτως ἔχειν 'to feel suspicion'.

6. πλείστα εἰς ἀνὴρ] cp. iii, 39, 1 μάλιστα δὲ μίαν πόλιν ἡδικηκότας.—ὅστις ξυμβουλευσάιτό τι: iterative opt. limiting τοὺς ἀγωνιζομένους. cp. vii, 29, 4 πάντας ἐξῆς, ὅτῳ ἐντύχοιεν, κτείνοντες.

7. καὶ αὐτός τε ἐπειδὴ κ.τ.λ.] The following words are unintelligible in the MSS. (except in CG) and many corrections have been proposed. Unfortunately it is impossible to accept with Böhm the simple reading of CG (ἐπειδὴ τὰ τῶν τετρακοσίων κ.τ.λ.) because this offers no explanation of μετὰ which persistently occurs in almost all MSS., even in those which omit the words μετέστη...κατέστη. The change of μετὰ into τὰ is tempting enough as far as the sense is concerned, and has been made by the correctors in

καὶ ἐς ἀγῶνας κατέστη με]...τὰ τῶν τετρακοσίων ἐν ὑστέρῳ μεταπεσόντα

some inferior MSS. (e.g. N) but obviously on no authority. Classen follows Brandis (*Rhein. Mus.* ix, p. 637 ff.) in making τὰ τῶν τετρακοσίων the subject to ἐς ἀγῶνας κατέστη and adding τε after μεταπεσόντα. But I do not think that anyone carefully reading the whole passage can doubt that ἐς ἀγῶνας κατέστη, whether genuine or not, is intended to refer to Antiphon who has been spoken of as οὐ παριῶν ἐς ἀγῶνα ἐκούσιος οὐδένα. Stahl's proposal is to read ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐς ἀγῶνας κατέστη μετὰ τὰ τῶν τετρακοσίων...μεταπεσόντα, omitting ἑκακοῦτο which thus becomes superfluous.

This would be most plausible but for the fatal difficulty of accounting for ἑκακοῦτο which is a thoroughly Thucydidean word correctly used (i.e. if τὰ τῶν τετρακοσίων is the subject to it); cp. i, 33, 3. vii, 27, 3. viii, 45, 1. Moreover it occurs, amidst variety of other readings, in all the MSS. A consideration of the actual state of the MSS. seems to throw some light upon the passage. The majority of the better class have ἐπειδὴ μετέστη ἢ δημοκρατία καὶ ἐς ἀγῶνας κατέστη μετὰ τῶν κ.τ.λ. M and a few less important MSS. give ἐπειδὴ μετὰ τῶν κ.τ.λ. CG have ἐπειδὴ τὰ τῶν, and a very few inferior MSS. give τὰ for μετὰ while retaining the longer reading. Now it is first to be observed that the omission of μετέστη...κατέστη is not an accident due to homoioteleuton, for in that case μετέστη itself would not have fallen out. We have therefore to account for the fact that three MSS. including the two oldest that we possess, make a somewhat lengthy omission which is not due to the ordinary cause of accidental omissions viz. homoioteleuton. This in itself need present no special difficulty, more particularly when we notice that the words thus omitted have all the usual characteristics of an interpolation. One such characteristic is seen in the redundancy of ἐπειδὴ μετέστη ἢ δημοκρατία in view of what follows, a second in the irregular use of μετέστη

(which apparently is intended to mean 'was restored', contrary to Thuc.'s usage iv, 76, 2. vi, 89, 6. viii, 81, 8), a third in the awkwardness of the change of subject and the plural ἀγῶνας referring to Antiphon's trial. Lastly the phraseology of the doubtful clause is largely drawn from the context and not too appropriately applied. In view of these considerations we should hardly hesitate to pronounce the words μετέστη...κατέστη to be an interpolation. But this is not all. We notice among almost all the MSS., those which omit the words as well as those which retain them, a very inexplicable variation between μετὰ and τὰ. How did μετὰ come in? It certainly does not belong to the shorter reading of CG, of which it makes absolute nonsense (cp. the actual reading of M). Neither does it belong to the interpolation, in connexion with which it is equally meaningless (A corr., followed by Class., has accordingly altered it to τὰ). It is moreover impossible to suppose that μετὰ τὰ together formed the original reading, unless we are prepared with Stahl to suppress ἑκακοῦτο. We have therefore to explain how μετὰ though equally inappropriate to both readings yet occurs in connexion with both, and how though it cannot on any reasonable supposition have been directly substituted for τὰ, it yet appears in many MSS. as an alternative for τὰ. I can only see one hypothesis which will account for this condition of things, viz. that in the archetype of our MSS. there was a lacuna due to omission or obliteration, and that the legible text ran thus ἐπειδὴ μετ.....τὰ τῶν τετρακοσίων κ.τ.λ. This would certainly after one or two transcriptions become ἐπειδὴ μετὰ τῶν τετρ. (as in M, which makes a precisely similar mistake in c. 23, 1, v. crit. note *ad loc.*), while some copyists (as those of the archetype of CG) might prefer to write ἐπειδὴ τὰ τῶν omitting the

ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἐκακοῦτο, ἄριστα φαίνεται τῶν μέχρι ἐμοῦ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τούτων, αἰτιαθεὶς ὡς ξυγκατέστησε, θανάτου δίκην ἀπολογησάμενος. παρέσχε δὲ καὶ ὁ Φρύνιχος ἑαυτὸν πάντων διαφε- 3  
ρόντως προθυμώτατον ἐς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν, δεδιὼς τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην  
5 καὶ ἐπιστάμενος εἰδὼτα αὐτὸν ὅσα ἐν τῇ Σάμφι πρὸς τὸν Ἀστυόχον  
ἔπραξε, νομίζων οὐκ ἂν ποτε αὐτὸν κατὰ τὸ εἶκος ὑπ' ὀλιγαρχίας  
κατελθεῖν. πολὺ τε πρὸς τὰ δεινὰ, ἐπειδὴ περ ὑπέστη, φερεγγυά-  
τατος ἐφάνη. καὶ Θηραμένης ὁ τοῦ Ἀγνωνοῦ ἐν τοῖς ξυγκαταλύουσιν 4  
τὸν δήμον πρῶτος ἦν, ἀνὴρ οὔτε εἰπεῖν οὔτε γινῶναι ἀδύνατος. ὥστε  
10 ἀπ' ἀνδρῶν πολλῶν καὶ ξυνητῶν πραχθὲν τὸ ἔργον οὐκ ἀπεικότως  
καί περ μέγα ὄν προухώρησε· χαλεπὸν γὰρ ἦν τὸν Ἀθηναίων

mutilated word altogether. At the same time we may be sure from other examples that words would be suggested to fill up the vacancy. μετέστη ἡ δημοκρατία would be a natural suggestion to complete the unfinished μετ..., while καὶ ἐς ἀγῶνας κατέστη may have been a later and independent addition, perhaps suggested by the already established reading μετὰ τῶν τετρακοσίων. In any case it is a matter of common experience to find glosses very unintelligently combined with the original text. Probably the meaning of the lost words would be more accurately represented by ἐπειδὴ μετέστη τὰ πράγματα ἐς δημοκρατίαν καὶ τὰ τῶν τετρακοσίων κ.τ.λ.

1. τῶν μέχρι ἐμοῦ] μέχρι τοῦδε is the more common phrase. There can hardly be here (as Ullrich suggests) any allusion to Socrates' defence. Krüger notes Cicero's reference to this passage: *Brutus*, xii, 47.

ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τούτων] 'on this very charge', viz. complicity in the oligarchic revolution. It seems best to take ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τούτων with ἀπολογησάμενος: cp. Ant. 121, 16 ὑπὲρ πραγμάτων ἀπολογεῖσθαι ὧν ἐγὼ χαλεπῶς μὲν τὴν ἀκρίβειαν ἔγνων.—θανάτου δίκην ἀπολογησάμενος: cp. c. 109, 1 τὰς διαβολὰς ἀπολογησῆται (which however may not be genuine, v. note *ad loc.*).

3. ὁ Φρύνιχος] From the present time to his assassination in c. 92, 2,

Phrynichus appears as one of the most reckless and determined of the oligarchs. Curiously enough Aristotle omits his name when mentioning the other leaders of the revolution (*Ἀθ. πολ.* c. 32).

πάντων διαφερόντως] this goes with παρέσχε ἑαυτὸν, not with προθυμώτατον. cp. Plato *Crit.* 52 b οὐ γὰρ ἂν ποτε τῶν ἄλλων Ἀθηναίων ἀπάντων διαφερόντως ἐν αὐτῇ (τῇ πόλει) ἐπεδήμεις.—ὅσα ἔπραξε: sc. ὁ Φρύνιχος; v. cc. 50, 51. For the unsuitableness of Alc. to an oligarchy cp. c. 63, 4.

7. πρὸς τὰ δεινὰ, ... φερεγγυάτατος] 'he showed himself most trusty in the face of danger'. φερεγγυος refers not so much to his good faith, as to his power of rendering effectual assistance.

8. Θηραμένης] v. *Introd.* p. xx. Aristotle's estimate of his character is given in *Ἀθ. πολ.* c. 28, *ad fin.*—ἐν τοῖς ... πρῶτος: πρῶτος here means 'chief' not 'earliest'. The ordinary construction would be ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοις ξυγκατέλυε τὸν δῆμον: cp. i, 6, 3, viii, 89, 2.

10. ἀπ' ἀνδρῶν πολλῶν ... πραχθὲν] cp. i, 17 ἐπράχθη τε ἀπ' αὐτῶν οὐδὲν ἔργον ἀξιόλογον. ἀπὸ is sometimes used instead of ὑπό when the agency is less direct. Besides the four leaders already mentioned we hear of Aristocrates the son of Scellius c. 89, 2, and Aristarchus c. 90, 1. The latter is also mentioned with Aristotle and Melanthius in Xen. *Hell.* ii. 3, 46.

δῆμον ἐπ' ἔτει ἑκατοστῷ μάλιστα ἐπειδὴ οἱ τύραννοι κατελύθησαν ἐλευθερίας παῦσαι, καὶ οὐ μόνον μὴ ὑπήκοον ὄντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἡμῖν τοῦ χρόνου τούτου αὐτὸν ἄλλων ἄρχειν εἰσθότα.

ΛΙΧ. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ ἐκκλησία οὐδενὸς ἀντειπόντος ἅμα κυρώσασα ταῦτα διελύθη, τοὺς τετρακοσίους ἤδη ὕστερον τρόπῳ 5 τοιῷδε ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσήγαγον. ἦσαν δ' Ἀθηναῖοι πάντες αἰί, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τείχει οἱ δ' ἐν τάξει, τῶν ἐν Δεκελείᾳ πολεμίων 2 ἕνεκα ἐφ' ὅπλοις. τῇ οὖν ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ τοὺς μὲν μὴ ξυνειδότας εἶασαν, ὥσπερ εἰώθεσαν, ἀπελθεῖν, τοὺς δ' ἐν τῇ ξυνωμοσίᾳ εἴρητο

4. ἀλλὰ for ἅμα MSS. v. note. 5. τρόπῳ τοιῷδε ὕστερον ἤδη AEFM. τρόπῳ ὕστερον ἤδη CG, but the order of B seems in itself preferable. 6. ἀθηναίων C.

1. ἐπ' ἔτει ἑκατοστῷ μάλιστα] 'after about 100 years of freedom'. ἐπὶ gives the notion of succession (cp. the English vulgarism 'upon the top of'). It was really 99 years, from 510 to 411.—ἐπειδὴ: i.e. ἐξ οὗ. It often has this meaning in Thuc.; cp. iii, 68, 5.

2. ὑπὲρ ἡμῖν τοῦ χρόνου] It was in 477—6 that the misconduct of Pausanias in Asia provoked the allies to offer the hegemony to Athens instead of Sparta.

cc. 69—73. The Boule is intimidated and dismissed, and the 400 are installed in its place. They indulge freely in acts of violence, and make overtures to Agis. He however first attempts to surprise the city, and is repulsed, upon which he is more inclined to accept their proposals. Ambassadors are sent to Sparta, and Samos.

4. ἅμα] This correction of Wilamowitz-M. though not absolutely certain, may fairly I think be received into the text. If ἀλλὰ were genuine and intended to contrast ἀντειπεῖν with κυρώσαι (a contrast which has not much point in itself) the subject should have been the same throughout, as in οὐδὲν ἐνεωτέριζον ἀλλὰ ἡσύχαζον just below.

6. ἦσαν δ'] I cannot see the necessity for bracketing δ' (Bekker, Stahl). Stahl points out that after τρόπῳ τοιῷδε Thuc. generally continues without a con-

junction; cp. iii, 20, 3-52, 2. viii, 104, 1. But these are cases in which the words immediately following describe the τρόπος. Here a preliminary explanation is inserted (introduced as is often the case by δέ), and the description of the τρόπος begins at τῇ οὖν ἡμέρᾳ κ.τ.λ. No doubt, but for this explanation, the text would have run on without conjunction, thus, τροπῷ τοιῷδε...ἐσήγαγον. τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ κ.τ.λ.—ἐπὶ τείχει: the article is often omitted in these local phrases with a preposition; cp. v, 47, 11 Ἀργεῖους δὲ ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἀναγράψαι. v. Krüg. Gr. § 50, 2, 15.

7. οἱ δ' ἐν τάξει...ἐφ' ὅπλοις] cp. vii, 28, 2, from which it appears that besides the sentinels on the walls there were companies posted at the various centres where the arms were piled (ἐφ' ὅπλοις). By day they kept guard κατὰ διαδοχὴν, by night all the citizens were on duty. The meaning of ἐν τάξει is illustrated by Xenophon Cyr. viii, 3, 34 ἐσκήνησαν, οἱς μὲν ἐδόθησαν οἰκίαι, κατ' οἰκίας, οἱς δὲ μὴ, ἐν τάξει, i.e. 'at their post'.

9. ὥσπερ εἰώθεσαν, ἀπελθεῖν] 'to leave their arms' i.e. 'to disperse'. Probably as Grote suggests there would be parades in the morning and evening, and in the interval the arms would be left stacked in the open spaces under a small guard. In relating the manœuvre by which the 30 Tyrants disarmed the citi-

ἡσυχῇ, μὴ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀλλ' ἀποθεν περιμένειν, καὶ ἦν  
 τις ἐνιστῆται τοῖς ποιουμένοις, λαβόντας τὰ ὅπλα μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν.  
 ἦσαν δὲ καὶ Ἀνδριοὶ καὶ Τήνιοι καὶ Καρυστίων τριακόσιοι καὶ 3  
 Αἰγινήτων τῶν ἐποίκων, [οὓς Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπεμψαν οἰκῆσοντας,] ἐπ'  
 5 αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἤκουντες ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ὅπλοις, οἷς τὰ αὐτὰ προείρητο.  
 τούτων δὲ διατεταγμένων οὕτως ἐλθόντες οἱ τετρακόσιοι μετὰ 4  
 ξιφιδίου ἀφανοῦς ἑκαστος, καὶ οἱ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν μετ' αὐτῶν  
 Ἕλληνες νεανίσκοι, οἷς ἐχρῶντο εἰ τί που δέοι χειρουργεῖν,  
 ἐπέστησαν τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ κυάμου βουλευταῖς οὓσιν ἐν τῷ βου-  
 10 λευτηρίῳ, καὶ εἶπον αὐτοῖς ἐξιέναι λαβοῦσι τὸν μισθόν. ἔφερον  
 δὲ αὐτοῖς τοῦ ὑπολοίπου χρόνου παντὸς αὐτοὶ καὶ ἐξιούσιν  
 ἐδίδοσαν.

LXX. Ὡς δὲ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἧ τε βουλὴ οὐδὲν ἀντειποῦσα  
 ὑπεξῆλθε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πολῖται οὐδὲν ἐνεωτέριζον ἀλλ' ἡσύχαζον,

4. M omits Αἰγινήτων...οἰκῆσοντας. ἐπ' οἰκων A. οἰκῆσαντας B. οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι AC etc. All this variation looks as if οὓς...οἰκῆσοντας (or possibly τῶν ἐποίκων...οἰκῆσοντας) were an interpolation. 5. οἷς ταῦτα AC etc. 8. B omits Ἕλληνες. εἰ πού τι B.

zens, Xenophon says they held a grand parade of the troops, and then when the arms were stacked, ἐν ᾧ ἐκεῖνοι ἀπεληλύθεσαν, they sent their agents to carry off all the arms to the Acropolis (*Hell.* ii, 3, 20). Even the guard may have dispersed to some extent for their meals, cp. Aristoph. *Lysist.* 557 ff.—περιμένειν: i.e. to loiter round within reach both of the arms and the Bouleuterion.

3. Ἀνδριοὶ καὶ Τήνιοι κ.τ.λ.] These were no doubt the hoplites whom Pisanter and his companions had picked up on the way from Samos to Athens; v. c. 65, 1. Carystus is on the S. coast of Euboea.

4. Αἰγινήτων τῶν ἐποίκων] This as well as Καρυστίων depends on τριακόσιοι. These Athenian settlers had been sent to Aegina in the first year of the war to replace the native population, who were driven out by the Athenians and established by the Lacedaemonians at Thyrea, ii, 27, 1.

8. Ἕλληνες νεανίσκοι] If Ἕλληνες is genuine it may be accounted for as Arnold suggests by the fact that the ordinary police force at Athens consisted of Scythians and other barbarians. It is hardly reasonable to omit it on B's authority alone, without at least some theory as to its origin. Stahl refers to Xen. *Hell.* ii, 3, 23, where apparently the same body is mentioned.—χειρουργεῖν: 'to take in hand', with sinister meaning, διαχειρίζειν having more general application.

10. ἔφερον] 'they brought the pay with them'.—τοῦ ὑπολοίπου χρόνου: the Boule was dismissed on the 14th of Thargelion (May); v. Aristot. *Ἀθ. πολ.* c. 32. There was exactly a month of their term of office still to run. The pay was a drachma *per diem*.—αὐτοί: 'ultro',—it was not asked, nor expected.

11. ὑπεξῆλθε] cp. c. 98, i. iv, 74, 2. The word is used of retiring in the face of some hostile force.

οἱ [δὲ] τετρακόσιοι ἐσελθόντες ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον τότε μὲν πρυτάνεις τε σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀπεκλήρωσαν, καὶ ὅσα πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς, εὐχαῖς καὶ θυσίαις καθιστάμενοι ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐχρήσαντο, ὕστερον δὲ πολὺ μεταλλάξαντες τῆς τοῦ δήμου διοικήσεως, πλὴν τοὺς φεύγοντας οὐ κατήγον τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου ἔνεκα, τὰ τε ἄλλα ἔνεμον κατὰ 5  
2 κράτος τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ἄνδρας τέ τινας ἀπέκτειναν οὐ πολλούς, οἱ ἐδόκουν ἐπιτήδειοι εἶναι ὑπεξαιρεθῆναι, καὶ ἄλλους ἔδησαι, τοὺς δὲ καὶ μετεστῆσαντο πρὸς τε Ἄγιν τὸν Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέα ὄντα ἐν τῇ Δεκελείᾳ ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο, λέγοντες διαλλαγῆναι βούλεσθαι καὶ εἰκὸς εἶναι αὐτὸν σφίσι καὶ οὐκέτι τῷ ἀπίστῳ δήμῳ 10  
μᾶλλον ξυγχαρεῖν.

5. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα MSS. v. note. 6. B omits κράτος. 10. αὐτοῖς σφίσι AEFGM.

1. οἱ [δὲ] τετρακόσιοι] In spite of the MSS. it is difficult to suppose that δὲ is genuine. As introducing the apodosis it would be merely confusing, while the sentence is rambling enough to make it quite possible that it was inserted by mistake.

πρυτάνεις...ἀπεκλήρωσαν] The Prytaneis would have been 40 in number instead of 50, as the new Council consisted of 40 from each of the tribes (Aristot. Ἀθ. πολ. c. 31). But it seems clear that this pretence of maintaining the old arrangements was from the first illusory.

2. ὅσα πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς] cp. ὅσα κατὰ...iv, 48, 5. vii, 11, 4, and the similar use of ὅσα with a participle i, 111, 1. iv, 16, 1 φυλάσσειν τὴν νῆσον, ὅσα μὴ ἀποβαίνοντας. —εὐχαῖς καὶ θυσίαις: v. Schömann, *Griech. Alt.* vol. 1. (2nd ed.) p. 392. At the beginning of the session (καθιστάμενοι ἐς τὴν ἀρχήν) solemn sacrifices were made (εἰσιτήρια), and before every meeting prayer was addressed to the gods specially honoured by the Boule (Zeus, Athene, Hestia, and Artemis, to all of whom the title of Βουλαῖος is applied).

4. πολὺ μεταλλάξαντες τῆς κ.τ.λ.] πολὺ is not adverbial but is governed by μεταλλάξαντες, and τῆς διοικήσεως is a partit. gen. The only other place where πολὺ is so used by Thuc. is vii, 44, 3,

though he frequently has πολὺ μέρος, or τὸ πολὺ.—πλὴν...οὐ κατήγον: Thuc. has no other instance of this use of πλὴν. It occurs in the tragedians, but πλὴν ὅτι is usual in Attic prose.

5. τὰ τε ἄλλα] τὰ δὲ ἄλλα, the reading of the MSS., would require a full-stop after πόλιν: v. Arnold's note. But it spoils the sense to disconnect τὰ ἄλλα ἔνεμον κατὰ κράτος from καὶ ἄνδρας τέ τινας ἀπέκτειναν, and MS. authority goes for very little as between δὲ and τε.

7. ἐπιτήδειοι ὑπεξαιρεθῆναι] cp. c. 63, 4. ἐπιτήδειος with an infin. is very common in the orators; e.g. ὀλωλέναι, τι πάσχειν, ὁστρακισθῆναι. It means 'the right sort of person', and differs from ἄξιος ('deserving'). cp. [Demosth.] 1485, 14 οὔτε γὰρ ἄξιος οὔτε ἐπιτήδειος.

8. μετεστῆσαντο] 'banished'. In i, 79, 1. v, 111, 2, μεταστῆσθαι means to make strangers withdraw from the assembly. Poppo quotes Aesch. c. *Ctes.* § 129 τοὺς μὲν ἐναγείς καὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων αἰτίους μετεστῆσαντο, τοὺς δὲ δι' εὐσέβειαν φυγόντας κατήγαγον.

10. εἰκὸς εἶναι...ξυγχαρεῖν] The sense appears to be καὶ εἰκὸς εἶναι αὐτὸν μᾶλλον ξυγχαρεῖν ('to be more inclined to come to terms'; cp. μᾶλλον ἤδη προσδεχομένου c. 71, 3) σφίσι ξυγχαροῦντα καὶ οὐκέτι τῷ ἀπίστῳ δήμῳ.

LXXI. Ὁ δὲ νομίζων τὴν πόλιν οὐχ ἡσυχάζειν, οὐδ' εὐθύς οὕτω τὸν δῆμον τὴν παλαιὰν ἐλευθερίαν παραδώσειν, εἴ τε στρατιὰν πολλὴν ἴδοι σφῶν, †οὐκ ἂν ἡσυχάσειν†, οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ παρόντι πάνυ τι πιστεύων μὴ οὐκέτι ταράττεσθαι αὐτούς, τοῖς 5 μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν τετρακοσίων ἐλθοῦσιν οὐδὲν ξυμβατικὸν ἀπεκρίνατο, προσμεταπεμφάμενος δὲ ἐκ Πελοποννήσου στρατιὰν πολλὴν οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον καὶ αὐτὸς τῇ ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας φρουρᾷ μετὰ τῶν ἐλθόντων κατέβη πρὸς αὐτὰ τὰ τεῖχη τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐλπίσας ἢ ταραχθέντας αὐτοὺς μᾶλλον ἂν χειρωθῆναι σφίσιν ἢ βούλονται, 10 ἢ καὶ αὐτοβοεῖ ἂν διὰ τὸν ἔνδοθεν τε καὶ ἔξωθεν κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς γενησόμενον θόρυβον τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν διὰ τὴν κατ' αὐτὰ ἐρημίαν

3. ἡσυχάζειν M. ἡσυχάσει F. Perhaps ἀναστασιάσειν (for οὐκ ἂν ἡσυχάσειν); v. note. 9. εἰ for ἦ ABEF. ἢ M. 11. τῶν γὰρ MSS. v. note.

1. τὴν πόλιν οὐχ ἡσυχάζειν] It is difficult to agree with Dobree and Stahl that these words should be bracketed and οὐδὲ altered into οὐτε. To do so would no doubt make fair sense, but there still remains a certain awkwardness in the sentence, and no sufficient explanation is suggested to account for such an interpolation. Taking the sentence as a whole Classen's view seems decidedly preferable, viz. that some other infin. has been corrupted into ἡσυχάζειν (cp. the similar case c. 23, 4, where παραπέμπει occurring two lines before παρέπλει has been altered into παρέπλει by every MS. except B). Classen proposes οὐχ ἥσσαν στασιάζειν for οὐχ ἡσυχάζειν. Perhaps however it is still more probable that the corruption is contained in οὐκ ἂν ἡσυχάσειν, both because of the impossible construction, and because there is here considerable though unimportant variation in the MSS. Conjecture in such a case soon becomes arbitrary, but a word which would go far to meet the requirements of the passage is ἀναστασιάσειν 'to renew the revolution' (cp. ἀναμάχεσθαι vii, 61, 3). This would make good sense besides accounting for the anomalous ἂν with the fut. infinitive. It would involve the further change of εἰ τε to εἰ δὲ in l. 2. Stahl

rightly disposes of the notion that the text as it stands can be due to haste and want of revision on the writer's part.

8. κατέβη] Deceleia stands high on a spur of Mt. Parnes commanding the plain of Attica.

9. χειρωθῆναι σφίσιν] 'be brought into their power', 'be at their mercy',—commonly used of revolted allies. σφίσιν is not dat. of agent; cp. iv, 28, 5 Λακεδαιμονίους σφίσι χειρώσασθαι (Κλέωνα).

11. τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν] The MSS. reading τῶν γὰρ μακρῶν τειχῶν cannot be right, but it is not easy to see how γοῦν or γε (which have been suggested as corrections) should have been corrupted into γάρ. It is more likely as Classen points out that the γάρ was inserted by some one who mistook the nature of the alternatives expressed, and thought that a contrast was intended between ταραχθέντας αὐτοὺς μᾶλλον ἂν χειρωθῆναι ἢ βούλονται and αὐτοβοεῖ ἂν [χειρωθῆναι]. The real alternatives however are either (1) the Athenians will submit, or (2) Agis will surprise and capture the long walls. The reading τῆς τῶν (A corr. and two inferior MSS.) has no authority.—διὰ τὴν...ἐρημίαν: the walls would be deserted because the troops would be fighting for and against the oligarchs in the city.

2 λήψεως οὐκ ἂν ἁμαρτεῖν. ὥς δὲ προσέμιξέ τε ἐγγὺς καὶ οἱ  
 Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ μὲν ἔνδοθεν οὐδ' ὅπωςτιοῦν ἐκίνησαν, τοὺς δὲ ἱππέας  
 ἐκπέμψαντες καὶ μέρος τι τῶν ὀπλιτῶν καὶ ψιλῶν καὶ τοξοτῶν  
 ἄνδρας τε κατέβαλον αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ ἐγγὺς προσελθεῖν καὶ ὕπλων  
 τινῶν καὶ νεκρῶν ἐκράτησαν, οὕτω δὴ γνοὺς ἀπήγαγε πάλιν τὴν 5  
 3 στρατιάν. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ χώραν ἐν τῇ  
 Δεκελείᾳ ἔμενον, τοὺς δ' ἐπελθόντας ὀλίγας τινὰς ἡμέρας ἐν τῇ γῇ  
 μέιναντας ἀπέπεμψεν ἐπ' οἴκου. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο παρὰ τε τὸν Ἄγιν  
 ἐπρεσβεύοντο οἱ τετρακόσιοι οὐδὲν ἥσσον, κἀκείνου μᾶλλον ἤδη  
 προσδεχομένου καὶ παραινοῦντος, ἐκπέμπουσι καὶ ἐς τὴν Λακεδαί- 10  
 μονα περὶ ξυμβάσεως πρέσβεις, βουλόμενοι διαλλαγῆναι.

LXXII. Πέμπουσι δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Σάμον δέκα ἄνδρας, παρα-  
 μυθησομένους τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ διδάξοντας ὥς οὐκ ἐπὶ βλάβῃ  
 τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἡ ὀλυγαρχία κατέστη, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ  
 σωτηρίᾳ τῶν ξυμπάντων πραγμάτων, πεντακισχίλιοι τε ὅτι εἶεν 15  
 καὶ οὐ τετρακόσιοι μόνον οἱ πράσσοντες· καίτοι οὐ πώποτε  
 Ἀθηναίους διὰ τὰς στρατείας καὶ τὴν ὑπερόριον ἀσχολίαν ἐς  
 οὐδὲν πρᾶγμα οὕτω μέγα ἐλθεῖν βουλεύσοντας, ἐν ᾧ πεντακισ-

4. BM alone give τε after ἄνδρας. .  
 before ἐς τὴν Λακ.

κατέβαλλον CG. 10. B omits καὶ

1. προσέμιξέ τε ἐγγὺς] The same  
 phrase occurs iv, 93, i. vii, 41, 3, but  
 both times with a gen. after ἐγγὺς.—τὰ  
 μὲν ἔνδοθεν...ἐκίνησαν: κινεῖν is used  
 similarly of political intrigue vi, 36, 2.  
 viii, 48, 1 (cp. note *ad loc.*).

5. γνοὺς] 'seeing how matters stood';  
 cp. c. 12, 1, and note. Haase's correction  
 ἀπογνοὺς is quite unnecessary.

12. παραμυθησομένους τὸ στρατόπε-  
 δον] These assurances honestly represented  
 the intentions of the Middle Party, who  
 still seemed to have the revolution in  
 their hands.—οἱ πράσσοντες: i.e. οἱ  
 μετέχοντες τῶν πραγμάτων (v. c. 65, 3). cp.  
 Dem. *de Cor.* 244 τῶν ἐν τῷ πολιτεύεσθαι  
 καὶ πράττειν δωροδοκούντων.

17. τὴν ὑπερόριον ἀσχολίαν] as op-  
 posed to *στρατείας* this must mean all  
 private reasons (e.g. of trade and business)  
 that could take the citizens abroad. For  
*ἀσχολία* cp. i, 90, 5.

ἐς οὐδὲν πρᾶγμα...ἐλθεῖν βουλεύσον-  
 τας] ἐλθεῖν ἐς here has not exactly the  
 sense of ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα i, 89, 1  
 ('to set about'), but rather suggests the  
 notion of 'being brought face to face  
 with'; cp. ii, 39, 4 περιγίγνεται ἡμῖν τοῖς  
 τε μέλλουσιν ἀλγευσὶς μὴ προκάμνειν, καὶ  
 ἐς αὐτὰ ἐλθοῦσι μὴ ἀπολμοτέρους...φαίνε-  
 σθαι. The statement that the ecclesia  
 never numbered so many as 5000 during  
 the war, though doubtless an exaggera-  
 tion, was not probably a very gross one,  
 if we consider that the total number of  
 possible voters at the beginning of the  
 war cannot have been much over 30,000,  
 and that it was now something like a  
 third less. For certain purposes, such  
 as ostracism, the bestowal of the citizen-  
 ship, &c., a minimum attendance of 6000  
 was necessary.

18. ἐν ᾧ] Prof. Jebb remarks (*Soph.*  
*Ant.* 220) that the relative thus used for



χιλίους ξυνελθεῖν. ἄλλα τ' ἐπιστεῖλαντες τὰ πρόποντα εἶπεῖν 2  
ἀπέπεμψαν αὐτοὺς εὐθύς μετὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν κατάστασιν, δεισάντες  
μὴ, ὅπερ ἐγένετο, ναυτικὸς ὄχλος οὔτε αὐτὸς μένειν ἐν τῇ ὀλιγ-  
αρχικῇ κόσμῳ ἐθέλῃ, σφᾶς τε μὴ ἐκέθην ἀρξαμένου τοῦ κακοῦ  
5 μεταστήσωσιν.

LXXIII. Ἐν γὰρ τῇ Σάμῳ ἐνεωτερίζετο ἤδη τὰ περὶ τὴν  
ὀλιγαρχίαν, καὶ ξυνέβη τοιαύδε γενέσθαι ὑπ' αὐτὸν τὸν χρόνον  
τοῦτον ὅνπερ οἱ τετρακόσιοι ξυνίσταντο. οἱ γὰρ τότε τῶν Σαμίων 2  
ἐπαναστάντες τοῖς δυνατοῖς καὶ ὄντες δῆμος, μεταβαλλόμενοι  
10 αὐθις καὶ πεισθέντες ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Πεισανδρου, ὅτ' ἦλθε, καὶ τῶν

1. καὶ ταῖα AC etc.

4. ἐθέλει AEFM. ἐθέλησαι B.

ὥστε occurs most frequently (though not exclusively) in negative sentences; cp. Dem. *Olynth.* 1 § 15. Plato, *Rep.* 360 B.

2. τὴν ἑαυτῶν κατάστασιν] i.e. τὴν ἑαυτῶν κατάστασιν ἐς τὴν ἀρχήν: cp. c. 70, 1 καθιστάμενοι ἐς ἀρχήν.

3. ναυτικὸς ὄχλος] ἡ ψιλὴ δύναμις καὶ ναυτικὴ δημοκρατικὴ πᾶμπαν. Arist. *Pol.* vi, 4, 3. cp. Eur. *Hec.* 607. Isocr. *Panath.* 116. Plato, *Legg.* iv, p. 705. viii, p. 842. Plutarch, *Themist.* c. 19. v. Hermann, *Gr. Ant.* i, 61, 7.

c. 73. Before the deputation from the 400 arrive at Samos the oligarchic revolution there is defeated.

6. ἐνεωτερίζετο... ὀλιγαρχίαν] Both sense and construction point to the meaning 'by this time a fresh movement was in progress in connexion with the oligarchic conspiracy (i.e. there was a reaction against it)'. cp. i, 115, 2 νεωτερίσαι τὴν πολιτείαν. γὰρ refers to ὅπερ ἐγένετο in the last sentence and introduces the fact which the oligarchs are there represented as anticipating. Classen's explanation 'the oligarchic revolution was by this time in progress', even if permissible, does not suit the sense.

7. ὑπ' αὐτὸν τὸν χρόνον... ὅνπερ] For the omission of the preposition before a relative closely following its substantive cp. iii, 94, 1. viii, 76, 4 ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ χωρίου ἀμνησθαι ὅνπερ καὶ πρότερον. It

is the less harsh here because the accusative is not very strictly confined to 'duration' of time by Thuc., but often expresses 'time at and about which', e.g. c. 76, 1 ἐς φιλονεικίαν τε καθέσταςαν τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον.

8. τότε] in the democratic revolution c. 21. In §§ 2, 3, we have a recapitulation (with additional details as to Hyperbolus &c.) of what has already been mentioned in c. 63, §§ 3, 4. The insertion, ὅτ' ἦλθε, is intended to remind us that this is only a summary of a previously described state of things, referring back to c. 63, 3 οἱ περὶ τὸν Πεισανδρον πρέσβεις... ἐς τὴν Σάμον ἦλθον. The really new matter therefore begins at § 4 οἱ δὲ αἰσθόμενοι κ.τ.λ., and it is only there that the actual explanation of ἐνεωτερίζετο ἤδη τὰ περὶ τ. ὀλιγ. is found.

9. καὶ ὄντες δῆμος] This goes closely with ἐπαναστάντες τοῖς δυνατοῖς 'those who (on the former occasion) as democrats made a revolution against the oligarchs'. It is inserted simply to contrast their past with their present position, (ἐμελλόν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὡς δῆμῳ ὄντι ἐπιθῆσθαι). Thuc. begins by speaking loosely of the whole democratic party, and then limits it by the words ἐς τριακοσίους. In such cases the subject is more commonly limited by another subject in apposition; cp. c. 13, *ad fin.* note.

ἐν τῇ Σάμφ ξυνεστῶτων Ἀθηναίων, ἐγένοντό τε ἐς τριακοσίους  
 ξυνωμόται καὶ ἐμελλον τοῖς ἄλλοις ὡς δῆμῳ ὄντι ἐπιθήσεσθαι.  
 3 καὶ Ὑπέρβολόν τέ τινα τῶν Ἀθηναίων, μοχθηρὸν ἄνθρωπον,  
 ὡστρακισμένον οὐ διὰ δυνάμεως καὶ ἀξιώματος φόβον ἀλλὰ διὰ  
 πονηρίαν καὶ αἰσχύνην τῆς πόλεως, ἀποκτείνουσι μετὰ Χαρμίνου 5  
 τε, ἐνὸς τῶν στρατηγῶν, καὶ τινων τῶν παρὰ σφίσιν Ἀθηναίων,  
 πίστιν διδόντες αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἄλλα μετ' αὐτῶν τοιαῦτα ξυνέπραξαν,  
 4 τοῖς δὲ πλείοσιν ὥρμητο ἐπιτίθεσθαι. οἱ δὲ αἰσθόμενοι τῶν τε  
 στρατηγῶν Λέοντι καὶ Διομέδοντι (οὗτοι γὰρ οὐχ ἐκόντες διὰ  
 τὸ τιμᾶσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἔφερον τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν) τὸ μέλλον 10  
 σημαίνουσι καὶ Θρασυβούλῳ καὶ Θρασύλῳ, τῷ μὲν τριηραρχοῦντι  
 τῷ δὲ ὀπλιτεύοντι, καὶ ἄλλοις οἱ ἐδόκουν αἰεὶ μάλιστα ἐναντιοῦσθαι  
 τοῖς ξυνεστῶσι· καὶ οὐκ ἤξιον περιδεῖν αὐτοὺς σφᾶς τε διαφθα-  
 ρέντας καὶ Σάμον Ἀθηναίους ἀλλοτριωθεῖσαν, δι' ἣν μόνην ἢ ἀρχή

14. μόνον AEFM. νῦν μόνον B. μόνον μέχρι νῦν CG. μόνην Stahl, which makes much better sense.

3. Ὑπέρβολον] ostracised probably in 418 B.C. A vote of ostracism had been proposed to test the strength of the Moderates headed by Nicias, and the Democrats who supported Alcibiades. Before the day of voting came they arrived at an understanding, and made Hyperbolus their scapegoat. The war had caused a fresh line of cleavage between political parties at Athens, and demagogues of the older type who, like Hyperbolus, wished to put foreign policy in the second place were abused by both sides; cp. Aristoph. *Clouds* 1066, *Peace* 684, also *Knights* 1304, ἄνδρα μοχθηρὸν πολίτην ὄξινον Ὑπέρβολον.—αἰσχύνην τῆς πόλεως: 'because he brought Athens into ill repute'. cp. i, 5, i. ii, 37, 3.

5. μετὰ Χαρμίνου] 'in conjunction with Charminus'; cp. c. 21. For Charminus cp. c. 30, i. 41, 3. 42, 2.

7. πίστιν διδόντες αὐτοῖς] They gave the oligarchs among the Ath. a pledge of good faith by joining with them in the assassination of Hyperbolus and others (ἄλλα τοιαῦτα ξυνέπραξαν). cp. iii, 82, 6 καὶ τὰς ἐς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς πιστεῖς οὐ

τῷ θεῖῳ νόμῳ μᾶλλον ἐκρατύνοντο ἢ τῷ κοινῇ τι παρανομῆσαι.

9. διὰ τὸ τιμᾶσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου] τιμᾶσθαι is not to receive special marks of honour, but to have generally a good reputation; cp. v, 16, i. vi, 9, 2.

11. Θρασυβούλῳ καὶ Θρασύλῳ] Thrasylbulus is the same who afterwards put down the Thirty Tyrants: for his character v. Grote vol. ix, p. 510 (Pt. II. c. LXXV). Thrasylus, though now serving in the ranks (there seems no reason to understand ὀπλιτεύοντι with the Schol. as τοῦ ὀπλιτικοῦ ἀρχοντι), is elected στρατηγός c. 76, 2, and subsequently appears in command with Alcibiades in the Hellespont.

13. αὐτοῖς] Thrasylbulus, Thrasylus, &c.; the subject to περιδεῖν.—σφᾶς: τοὺς πλείονας τῶν Σαμίων.

14. μόνην] Stahl's correction for μόνον. The variations of the mss. seem due to attempts to explain the rather unusual phrase ἐς τοῦτο.—ξυνέμεινεν: in vii, 80, 4, ξυμμένειν means 'to hold together' which would suit the present passage well, but in iv, 74, 4, and elsewhere it merely

αὐτοῖς ἐς τοῦτο ξυνέμενεν. οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες τῶν τε στρατιωτῶν 5  
 ἕνα ἕκαστον μετήσαν μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τοὺς Παρά-  
 λους, ἄνδρας Ἀθηναίους τε καὶ ἐλευθέρους πάντας [ἐν τῇ νηὶ  
 πλέοντας] καὶ αἰεὶ δῆποτε ὀλιγαρχία καὶ μὴ παρούση ἐπικειμένους·  
 5 ὃ τε Λέων καὶ ὁ Διομέδων αὐτοῖς ναῦς τινας, ὅποτε ποι πλείοιεν,  
 κατέλειπον φύλακας. ὥστ' ἐπειδὴ αὐτοῖς ἐπετίθεντο οἱ τριακό- 6  
 σιοι, βοηθησάντων πάντων τούτων, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν Παράλων,  
 περιεγένοντο οἱ τῶν Σαμίων πλείονες. καὶ τριάκοντα μὲν τινας  
 ἀπέκτειναν τῶν τριακοσίων, τρεῖς δὲ τοὺς αἰτιωτάτους φυγῇ  
 10 ἐξήμίωνσαν· τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις οὐ μνησικακοῦντες δημοκρατούμενοι τὸ  
 λοιπὸν ξυνεπολίτευον.

LXXIV. Τὴν δὲ Πάραλον ναῦν καὶ Χαιρέαν ἐπ' αὐτῆς τὸν

2. The Scholiast appears from his note on Παράλους, "ἦγουν τοὺς ἐκ τῆς νεῶς τῆς Παράλου", not to have found ἐν τῇ νηὶ πλέοντας in his text. v. note.  
 6. κατέλειπον ABCGM.

means 'to continue'. For similar variation in the force of ξύν compounded with verbs cp. c. 14, 1, and note. αὐτοῖς belongs to the whole clause.

2. μετήσαν] cp. iii, 70, 1 ἕκαστον τῶν πολιτῶν μετιόντες ὅπως ἀποστήσωσι τὴν πόλιν: but I can find no other instance with the infin. following.

τοὺς Παράλους] They were picked seamen receiving 4 obols a day all the year round, whether on active service or not. The words ἐν τῇ νηὶ πλέοντας seem not only unnecessary but so awkwardly placed as to interrupt the sense. It is clearly more natural to pass on immediately from ἄνδρας Ἀθηναίους τε καὶ ἐλευθέρους to καὶ αἰεὶ δῆποτε ὀλιγαρχία...ἐπικειμένους: and there could hardly be a less appropriate place for the insertion of a rather flat descriptive clause. πάντας marks the fact that the whole complement of the Paralus were Athenian citizens, whereas in other ships the ἐπιβάται and inferior oarsmen (at least) were metoeci and mercenaries. Perhaps it is this very word πάντας that originally suggested a marginal explanation (τοὺς) ἐν τῇ νηὶ πλέοντας.—ἐπικειμένους: cp. Aristoph. *Knights* 252 ff. ἀλλὰ παῖε καὶ ὄλωκε καὶ τάραττε καὶ κύκα...κάπικελ-

μενος βόα.

10. τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις] governed by ξυνεπολίτευον, though purposely put in proximity to μνησικακοῦντες. ξυμπολιτεύειν sometimes seems to refer to social rather than to public life and is frequently used of an individual settling in a state; cp. vi, 4, 1. The fact is that the two aspects of a citizen's life were inseparable to the Greek mind.

cc. 74—78. The Paralus arrives at Athens with the news that democracy is restored at Samos, and finds the 400 in power. The ship and the crew are seized, but Chaereas makes his escape back to Samos where he exaggerates the tyranny of the 400 at Athens. Indignation at Samos and cordial coöperation of Samians and Athenians. The armament choose new officers and determine to prosecute the war with vigour, and at the same time to force a restoration of the democracy at home. The Deputies from the 400 proceed no further than Delos.

12. ἐπ' αὐτῆς] 'on board of it', not 'in charge of it'; cp. vi, 61, 7. μετάρσταις is used similarly of a counter revolution at Megara, iv, 74, 4, and apparently in both passages almost = 'restoration'.

Ἀρχεστράτου, ἀνδρα Ἀθηναῖον, γενόμενον ἐς τὴν μετάστασιν  
 πρόθυμον, ἀποπέμπουσιν οἱ τε Σάμιοι καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται κατὰ  
 τάχος ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπαγγελοῦντα τὰ γεγενημένα· οὐ γὰρ ᾗδεσάν  
 2 πω τοὺς τετρακοσίους ἄρχοντας. καὶ καταπλευσάντων αὐτῶν  
 εὐθέως τῶν μὲν Παράλων τινὰς οἱ τετρακόσιοι δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἔδρασαν, 5  
 τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀφελόμενοι τὴν ναῦν καὶ μετεμβιβάσαντες ἐς ἄλλην  
 3 στρατιῶτιν ναῦν ἔταξαν φρουρεῖν περὶ Εὐβοίαν. ὁ δὲ Χαιρέας  
 εὐθὺς διαλαθὼν πως, ὡς εἶδε τὰ παρόντα, πάλιν ἐς τὴν Σάμον  
 ἔλθων ἀγγέλλει τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον πάντα δεινώσας  
 τὰ ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὡς πληγαῖς τε πάντας ζημιοῦσι καὶ ἀντειπεῖν 10  
 ἔστιν οὐδὲν πρὸς τοὺς ἔχοντας τὴν πολιτείαν, καὶ ὅτι αὐτῶν καὶ  
 γυναῖκες καὶ παῖδες ὑβρίζονται, καὶ διανοοῦνται, ὅποσοι ἐν Σάμῃ  
 στρατεύονται μὴ ὄντες τῆς σφετέρας γνώμης, τούτων πάντων τοὺς  
 προσήκοντας λαβόντες εἴρξειν, ἵνα, ἢν μὴ ὑπακούωσι, τεθνήκωσι·  
 καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ ἐπικαταψευδόμενος ἔλεγεν. 15

LXXV. Οἱ δ' ἀκούσαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν μάλιστα  
 ποιήσαντας καὶ ἔτι τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς μετασχόντας τὸ μὲν πρῶτον  
 ὥρμησαν βάλλειν· ἔπειτα μέντοι ὑπὸ τῶν διὰ μέσου κωλυθέντες  
 καὶ διδαχθέντες, μὴ τῶν πολεμίων ἀντιπρῶρων ἐγγὺς ἐφορμούντων

12. ὅποσοι τε ἐν AC etc. 14. τεθνήκωσι E. τεθνηκόσι AF. τεθνήξονται G.  
 τεθνη\*ῶ\* C (not τεθνηκῶσι, because the schol. γράφεται καὶ τεθνηκῶσι is in the first  
 hand). τεθνήξωσι M. 16. ἀκούοντες B. 17. ἐπὶ for ἐτι CGM.

3. οὐ γὰρ ᾗδεσαν] The ten emis-  
 saries of the 400 sent to Samos (c. 72, 1),  
 stopped at Delos (v. c. 77), and so the  
 Paralus missed them.

7. φρουρεῖν περὶ Εὐβοίαν] i.e. περι-  
 πλεῖν Εὐβοίαν, v. c. 86, 9. Euboea  
 shortly afterwards revolted v. c. 95.

9. ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον...δεινώσας] cp. ἐπὶ  
 τὸ μείζον κοσμήσαι i, 10, 3. 21, 1 and ἐπὶ  
 τὸ πλείον ἀγγέλλειν vi, 34, 7. δεινῶν does  
 not seem to occur elsewhere in good  
 Attic.

13. μὴ ὄντες τῆς σφετέρας γνώμης]  
 cp. i, 113, 2. iii, 70, 6. v, 46, 4, where  
 τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης εἶναι is similarly used of  
 political sympathisers.

14. εἴρξειν] διανοεῖσθαι is generally  
 followed in Thuc. by a pres. infin. The  
 fut. however occurs five times (iv, 115, 2.

121, i. vii, 56, i. viii, 55, 2. 74, 3), and  
 the aor. four (i, 18, 2. iv, 13, 4. v, 43, 2.  
 52, 2). For τεθνήκωσι cp. ἐτεθνήκει c. 66,  
 2, and note.

18. βάλλειν] Inf. of purpose. cp. c.  
 29, 2 παραδοῦναι τὰς ναὺς ξυμπλέων. The  
 same sense is given more naturally by  
 ὥρμησαν ὥστε βάλλειν c. 84, 3. cp. also  
 iv, 34, 1 ὥρμησαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐβαλλον.  
 τῶν διὰ μέσου] v. Intro. p. xvi. They  
 are called τὰ μέσα τῶν πολιτῶν iii,  
 82, 8. The phrase οἱ διὰ μέσου does not  
 occur elsewhere in Thuc. though Xen.  
 has it, *Hell.* v, 4, 25.

κωλυθέντες καὶ διδαχθέντες, μὴ κ.τ.λ.]  
 The strict construction is κωλυθέντες  
 μὴ ἀπολέσωσι, the words καὶ διδαχθέντες  
 being a parenthetical amplification of  
 κωλυθέντες.

ἀπολέσωσι τὰ πράγματα, ἐπαύσαντο. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο λαμπρῶς 2  
 ἤδη ἐς δημοκρατίαν βουλόμενοι μεταστήσαι τὰ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ ὃ τε  
 Θρασύβουλος ὁ τοῦ Λύκου καὶ Θράσυλος (οὗτοι γὰρ μάλιστα  
 προεστῆκεσαν τῆς μεταβολῆς) ὥρκωσαν πάντας τοὺς στρατιώτας  
 5 τοὺς μεγίστους ὄρκους, καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας μάλιστα,  
 ἢ μὴν δημοκρατήσεσθαι τε καὶ ὁμονοήσῃν, καὶ τὸν πρὸς Πελοπον-  
 νησίους πόλεμον προθύμως διοίσειν, καὶ τοῖς τετρακοσίοις πολέμιοι  
 τε ἔσεσθαι καὶ οὐδὲν ἐπικηρυκεύσεσθαι. ξυνώμνυσαν δὲ καὶ Σαμίων 3  
 πάντες τὸν αὐτὸν ὄρκον οἱ ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ, καὶ τὰ πράγματα πάντα  
 10 καὶ τὰ ἀποβησόμενα ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων ξυνεκονιώνσαντο οἱ στρατιῶται  
 τοῖς Σαμίοις, νομίζοντες οὔτε ἐκείνοις ἀποστροφὴν σωτηρίας οὔτε  
 σφίσιν εἶναι, ἀλλ', ἐάν τε οἱ τετρακόσιοι κρατήσωσιν ἐάν τε οἱ ἐκ  
 Μιλήτου πολέμιοι, διαφθάρησεσθαι.

4. προεστῆκεσαν μάλιστα B. προεστῆκεσαν AEF. προεστῆκεισαν CG. 6.  
 δημοκρατηθήσεσθαι ABEFM. But cp. 48, 5. 8. ἐπικηρυκεύεσθαι MSS., which  
 Reiske corrects. v. note. 10. ξυνεκονιώνσαντο B.

1. λαμπρῶς ἤδη] 'dropping all disguise', as opposed to the secret canvassing of 73, 5; cp. c. 67, 3 ἐνταῦθα δὲ λαμπρῶς ἐλέγετο. For ὄρκον ὄρκων Class. quotes Aristoph. *Lys.* 187. The practice of selecting oaths which should be specially binding on the conscience of particular individuals is alluded to in v, 18, 9.—τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας μάλιστα: μάλιστα belongs to ἐκ τῆς ὀλ.; cp. c. 98, 1 ὅσοι ἦσαν τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας μάλιστα.

6. δημοκρατήσεσθαι] Though the MSS. give the pass. it is hard to believe that Thuc. would have used a different form here and in c. 48, 5. Moreover the fut. middle for the passive is very frequent, e.g. ἀδικήσεσθαι vi, 87, 4, ὠφελήσονται vii, 67, 3. For πόλεμον διοίσειν cp. i, 11, 2. vi, 54, 5.

8. ἐπικηρυκεύεσθαι] The future seems necessary here. Classen's defence of the MSS. is strained, and if the present were really intentional it would be given its due prominence (e.g. by ἐν τῷ παρόντι), and not introduced as it were accidentally. But οὐδὲν (for μηδὲν) with the fut. infin. after ἢ μὴν is very strange, and if right can only be explained by the number

of words that intervene.

ξυνώμνυσαν... Σαμίων... οἱ ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ] A column of Pentelic marble discovered in 1888 on the Acropolis has upon it a relief of Athene taking by the hand a female figure (probably Samos), and underneath a decree passed in the archonship of Alexias (405—4) conferring the citizenship upon the Samians ὅσοι μετὰ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐγένοντο. Fragments of the same column containing two later decrees also affecting the Samians were found in 1876, and the decrees are given by Dittenberger (*Sylloge Insc.* 48). v. also *C. I. A.* ii, 1 b. For fuller details v. *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον*, vol. iv, p. 123; vol. v, p. 24. It appears therefore that the democracy kept its promise of sharing with the Samians τὰ ἀποβησόμενα ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων.

11. ἀποστροφὴν σωτηρίας] ἀποστροφή in prose is generally used either absolutely in the sense 'asylum' (cp. iv, 76, 5), or with a genitive of the thing escaped from (e.g. κακῶν). But phrases like the present are common in the tragedians, e.g. Eur. *Or.* 724 καταφυγὴ σωτηρίας, *Hcl.* 1055 σωτηρίας ἄκος.

LXXVI. Ἐς φιλονεικίαν τε καθέστασαν τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον οἱ μὲν τὴν πόλιν ἀναγκάζοντες δημοκρατεῖσθαι, οἱ δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον 2 ὀλιγαρχεῖσθαι. ἐποίησαν δὲ καὶ ἐκκλησίαν εὐθὺς οἱ στρατιῶται, ἐν ᾗ τοὺς μὲν προτέρους στρατηγούς, καὶ εἴ τινα τῶν τριηράρχων ὑπώπτευν, ἔπαυσαν, ἄλλους δὲ ἀνθεῖλοντο καὶ τριηράρχους καὶ 5 3 στρατηγούς, ὧν Θρασύβουλός τε καὶ Θράσυλος ὑπῆρχον. καὶ παραινέσεις ἄλλας τε ἐποιοῦντο ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἀνιστάμενοι, καὶ ὥς οὐ δεῖ ἀθυμεῖν ὅτι ἡ πόλις αὐτῶν ἀφέστηκε· τοὺς γὰρ ἐλάσσους ἀπὸ σφῶν τῶν πλεόνων καὶ ἐς πάντα ποριμωτέρων 4 μεθεστάναι. ἐχόντων γὰρ σφῶν τὸ πᾶν ναυτικὸν τάς τε ἄλλας 10 πόλεις ὧν ἄρχουσιν ἀναγκάσειν τὰ χρήματα ὁμοίως διδόναι καὶ εἰ ἐκείθεν ὠρμῶντο (πόλιν τε γὰρ σφίσιν ὑπάρχειν Σάμον οὐκ ἀσθενῆ, ἀλλ' ἡ παρ' ἐλάχιστον δὴ ἦλθε τὸ Ἀθηναίων κράτος τῆς θαλάσσης, ὅτε ἐπολέμησεν, ἀφελέσθαι, τοὺς τε πολεμίους ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ χωρίου ἀμυνεῖσθαι οὐπερ καὶ πρότερον), καὶ δυνατώτεροι 15

1. καθεστᾶσι AEF corr. M, corr. G (both later hand). 4. ἐν ᾗ μὲν τοὺς M. C omits μὲν. 8. αὐτῶν MSS. αὐτῶν Bekk. 9. ποριμώτεροι οἱ εὐπορώτεροι ABEF (a good example of a gloss). 10. μεθιστάναι A. μεθιστάναι EF. καθιστάναι B. M omits it. τάς τε πόλεις B. 13. B alone gives δῆ. 15. ἀμύνεσθαι AC etc.

1. τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον] This apparently = κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον; cp. c. 73, 1, and note. If there is any notion of duration it is not meant to be insisted upon.—ἀναγκάζοντες: 'trying to force'.

3. ἐποίησαν δὲ καὶ ἐκκλησίαν] The regular phrase (ποιεῖν ἐκκλησίαν) is here used since the armament at Samos is now the Demos. (ἐκκλησία in Thuc. is always the Ath. Assembly except in 1, 87, 1.)—ἔπαυσαν: i.e. τῆς ἀρχῆς. The genitive is generally expressed, as in c. 39, 2, but vi, 103, 4 is another example of this absolute use.—ὧν Θρασύβουλός τε καὶ Θράσυλος ὑπῆρχον: 'beginning with Thrasybulus and Thrasyllus'.

7. παραινέσεις...ἐποιοῦντο ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς] For the passive cp. v, 69, 1 παραινέσεις καθ' ἐκάστους...ἐγίγνοντο. For ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς cp. c. 48, 3, and note.—ἀνιστάμενοι: 'standing up to speak in the Assembly'; cp. vi, 41, 1.

9. ποριμωτέρων] From the following

G. T.

sentence it appears that this means 'able to provide for themselves', as in Aristoph. *Frogs* 1429.—ἐχόντων γὰρ σφῶν: Class. quotes other instances of the subject of a sentence, with a part. in agreement, being put in the gen. abs. instead of the nom. viz. i, 10, 2. ii, 83, 3. iii, 13, 7; add vii, 48, 2.

11. ὁμοίως...καὶ εἰ] cp. ii, 60, 6 ἐν ἴσῳ καὶ εἰ ἐνεθυμήθη. The words πόλιν...πρότερον are parenthetical and form an explanation suggested by ὁμοίως καὶ εἰ ἐκείθεν ὠρμῶντο. Therefore τάς τε ἄλλας πόλεις...ἀναγκάσειν, answers to καὶ δυνατώτεροι εἶναι σφεῖς.

14. ὅτε ἐπολέμησεν] When Samos revolted in 440, Pericles at once led a strong force against it. Finally the Athenians concentrated as many as 200 ships there, and even so it held out for 9 months.

ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ χωρίου...οὐπερ] χωρίον is used with especial frequency of a place

εἶναι σφεῖς ἔχοντες τὰς ναῦς πορίζεσθαι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει. καὶ δι' ἑαυτοὺς δὲ ἐν τῇ Σάμφη προκαθημένους καὶ πρότερον ἰ αὐτοὺς κρατεῖν τοῦ ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἔσπλου, καὶ νῦν <εἰ> ἐς <τὸ> τοιοῦτον καταστήσονται μὴ βουλομένων σφίσι πάλιν τὴν πολυ- 5 τείαν ἀποδοῦναι, [ὥστε] αὐτοὶ δυνατώτεροι εἶναι εἰργεῖν ἐκείνους τῆς θαλάσσης ἢ ὑπ' ἐκείνων εἶργεσθαι. βραχύ τέ τι εἶναι καὶ θ

2. ἑαυτοὺς τε MSS. *v. crit. note* c. 68, 2. 3. καὶ <δι> νῦν ἐς τοιοῦτο Hude.  
4. τοσοῦτον for τοιοῦτον AEFM. τοσοῦτο CG. καταστήναι for καταστήσονται Class. Stahl thinks that *ἐτι μάλλον, ἔπει* or similar words have been lost after νῦν. βουλόμενοι C. Hude. 5. αὐτοὶ καὶ δυνατώτεροι ACEFG.

occupied for military purposes; cp. c. 25, 5. 38, 2. 60, 1. 61, 3. 98, 3. For the omission of the prep. before οὔπερ cp. c. 73, 1.

2. δι' ἑαυτοὺς...[ἐσπλου] This will not seem at all exaggerated if we remember the immediate pressure of famine felt at Athens as a result of the defeat at Aegospotami and the destruction of their Asiatic fleet. δι' ἑαυτοὺς προκαθημένους = διὰ τὸ ἑαυτοὺς προκαθῆσθαι. Class. compares μετὰ Συρακούσας οἰκισθείσας vi, 3. 3.

3. <εἰ> ἐς <τὸ> τοιοῦτον καταστήσονται] The reading of the MSS. (καὶ νῦν ἐς τοιοῦτον καταστήσονται) involves an abrupt change from the infin. to the fut. indic. which is made still more awkward by the fact that other infinitives follow. Even if this could be supported (and no real parallel has yet been adduced) the future, after καὶ νῦν contrasted with καὶ πρότερον, is both less appropriate and less forcible than a present. These objections are felt by both Classen and Stahl who propose different but not very satisfactory remedies (*v. crit. note*). Further the phrase ἐς τοιοῦτον καταστήσονται ὥστε δυνατώτεροι εἶναι is a very meaningless circumlocution. They are δυνατώτεροι κ.τ.λ.; the only question is whether they will be required to evince their superiority. In fact the general sense we should expect is 'they have had the power all along, and if necessary can now show it'. This

sense would be given very naturally by inserting εἰ before ἐς and striking out ὥστε. The meaning will then be 'and now, if this is the state of things they have to face and the Athenians at home will not restore the democracy, they are far better able to etc.' εἰ before ἐς might very easily fall out, and when once that had happened the insertion of ὥστε would not be surprising. It is worth noticing that καὶ occurs after αὐτοὶ in several MSS., while at least one inferior MS. has καὶ after ὥστε. This may perhaps point to two alternative ways of connecting αὐτοὶ κ.τ.λ. when the omission of εἰ had left it unconnected. καὶ αὐτοὶ δυνατώτεροι εἶναι might be a scribe's attempt at making the passage intelligible, until some one thought of ὥστε which would either supersede καὶ, or (as often happens) be combined with it. For εἰ with the future indic. meaning 'if they are to etc.' cp. Goodwin *M. and T.* §§ 407—8. Lastly, ἐς τοιοῦτον καταστήσονται can hardly stand; at least I can find nothing like it in Thucydides. But ἐς τὸ τοιοῦτον is the slightest possible alteration and would be quite usual. For the whole phrase cp. c. 27, 5 ἐς ὅσα ἄλλα Φρήνιχος κατέστη.

5. δυνατώτεροι] δυνατός does not really suit the pass. εἶργεσθαι and would probably not be so used except for the antithesis with εἶργειν. In iii, 86, 4, however δυνατός is followed by an infin. which is passive in sense though not in

οὐδενὸς ἄξιον, ᾧ πρὸς τὸ περιγίγνεσθαι τῶν πολεμίων ἢ πόλιν σφίσι χρήσιμος ἦν, καὶ οὐδὲν ἀπολωλεκέναι, οἷ γε μήτε ἀργύριον εἶχον ἔτι πέμπειν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ ἐπορίζοντο οἱ στρατιῶται, μήτε βούλευμα χρηστὸν, οὐπερ ἔνεκα πόλιν στρατοπέδων κρατεῖ. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τούτοις τοὺς μὲν ἡμαρτηκέναι τοὺς πατέρας νόμους κατα- 5 λύσαντας, αὐτοὶ δὲ σφῆξιν καὶ ἐκείνους πειράσσεσθαι προσαναγκάζειν. ὥστε οὐδὲ τούτους, οἷπερ ἂν βουλεύοιεν τι χρηστὸν, παρὰ σφίσι 7 χείρους εἶναι. Ἀλκιβιάδην τε, ἣν αὐτῷ ἄδειαν τε καὶ καθόδον ποιήσωσιν, ἄσμενον τὴν παρὰ βασιλέως ξυμμαχίαν παρέξειν. τὸ τε μέγιστον, ἣν ἀπάντων σφάλλωνται, εἶναι αὐτοῖς τοσοῦτον 10 ἔχουσι ναυτικὸν πολλὰς τὰς ἀποχωρήσεις ἐν αἷς καὶ πόλεις καὶ γῆν εὐρήσουσι.

LXXVII. Τοιαῦτα ἐν ἀλλήλοις ἐκκλησιάσαντες καὶ παρα-  
 θαρσύναντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου παρεσκευάζοντο  
 οὐδὲν ἥσσαν. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τετρακοσίων πεμφθέντες ἐς τὴν 15

3. ἔτι εἶχον AC etc. 5. πατέρας ABEFG. 6. αὐτοὺς AC etc.  
 7. οὐπερ for οἷπερ ABEFG. οὐπερ M.

form, εἰ σφίσι δυνατόν εἴη τὰ ἐν Σικελίᾳ πράγματα ὑποχείρια γενέσθαι.

1. ᾧ...χρήσιμος ἦν] Class. understands this as ἂν ἦν 'would have been useful but for the revolution'. I see no reason for doing so: the whole appears to be an appeal to past experience. πέμπειν depends on εἶχον and has for its object (1) ἀργύριον, (2) (by zeugma) βούλευμα χρηστὸν. For ἔχειν with the infin. cp. i, 143, 4. ii, 37, i. iii, 46, 4.

4. οὐπερ ἔνεκα ... κρατεῖ] ἔνεκα in Thuc. always has a causal sense except in the strange phrase ὅσον καὶ ἀπὸ βοῆς ἔνεκα, c. 92, 9. It is therefore at least doubtful whether Grote's rendering (followed by Class.) is admissible, 'which is the great superiority of a city over a camp'. This requires that οὐπερ ἔνεκα should mean (as often in Plato etc.) 'in which matter'. If however we are to follow Thucydides' usage, and retain the causal sense of ἔνεκα, we must construe, 'which is the object of state-control over armies'; and this seems to me preferable on other grounds.

5. ἐν τούτοις] sc. ἐν τῇ βούλευμα χρηστὸν παρέχειν. For the plural with a sing. antecedent cp. Xen. *Anab.* i, 9, 24 τὸ δὲ τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ περιεῖναι τῶν φίλων... ταῦτα...δοκεῖ ἀγαστὰ εἶναι. Supply σάξιν (τοὺς πατρ. νόμους) again after προσαναγκάζειν.

7. οἷπερ ἂν βουλεύοιεν] Those who 'would', in case of need, give good counsel (as is proved by their good counsel in the past). βουλεύωσι (Dobr.) spoils the sense.

11. ἀποχωρήσεις] Elsewhere in Thuc. always used of the retreat itself, not 'the place of retreat' as here. Similarly ἀναχώρησις seems to be used once only (i, 90, 2) for 'refuge'. For the general sense cp. vii, 77, 4.

14. καὶ τὰ τοῦ πολ. παρεσκευάζοντο] καὶ emphasizes the fact that they did not confine themselves to discussion but prepared ἐργῶ as well as λόγῳ. For τὰ τοῦ πολ. cp. c. 36, 1, and i, 18, 3 εὐ παρεσκευάσαντο τὰ πολέμια.

15. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τετρ. πεμφθέντες] The same phrase occurs in c. 89, 1. The



Σάμον [οἱ δέκα πρεσβευταί], ὡς ταῦτα ἐν τῇ Δήλῳ ἤδη ὄντες ἤσθάνοντο, ἡσύχαζον αὐτοῦ.

LXXVIII. 'Τπὸ δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῳ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἐν τῷ ναυτικῷ στρατιῶται κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς 5 διεβόων ὡς ὑπὸ τε Ἀστυόχου καὶ Τισσαφέρνους φθίρεται τὰ πράγματα, τοῦ μὲν οὐκ ἐθέλοντος οὔτε πρότερον ναυμαχεῖν, ἕως ἔτι αὐτοὶ τε ἔρρωντο μᾶλλον καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὀλίγον ἦν, οὔτε νῦν, ὅτε στασιάζειν τε λέγονται καὶ αἱ νῆες αὐτῶν οὐδέπω ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ εἰσιν, ἀλλὰ τὰς παρὰ Τισσαφέρνους Φοινίσσας 10 ναῦς μένοντες, ἄλλως ὄνομα καὶ οὐκ ἔργον, κινδυνεύσειν διατριβῆναι. τὸν δ' αὖ Τισσαφέρνη τάς τε ναῦς ταύτας οὐ κομίζειν, καὶ τροφήν ὅτι οὐ ξυνεχῶς οὐδ' ἐντελὴ διδοὺς κακοῖ τὸ ναυτικόν. οὐκ οὖν ἔφασαν χρήναι μέλλειν ἔτι, ἀλλὰ διαναυμαχεῖν. καὶ μάλιστα οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἐνήγον.

13. μὴ μέλλειν ἔτι, ἀλλὰ ναυμαχεῖν B.

ambassadors were sent c. 72, 1. οἱ δέκα πρεσβευταί is awkwardly inserted, and the form πρεσβευταί (for πρεσβεῖς) occurs only here and in c. 86, 1. It is certainly an interpolation in both cases.

cc. 78—9. Discontent of the Peloponnesians at Miletus against Astyochus. He sails to Mycale, and offers battle to the Athenians, who decline it. Strombichides arrives with the Ath. reinforcements, and the Peloponnesians retire again to Miletus.

3. οἱ ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῳ κ.τ.λ.] Tissaphernes had induced Astyochus to return to Miletus, and concluded a fresh treaty (c. 57), but Philippus had previously been established as governor at Miletus by Therimenes who brought over an important reinforcement of ships from Sicily and the Peloponnese; cp. cc. 26, 1. 28, 5. There would be likely to be ill feeling between Philippus and Astyochus, as there had been between Astyochus and Pedaritus at Chios. The soldiers who had served under Philippus would no doubt side with him.—διεβόων: cp. c. 53, 2.

9. οὐδέπω ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ εἰσιν] 'are not as yet concentrated at Samos'. Thirty ships, and some transports (out of a

total of 104) had been detached to Chios under Strombichides and Euctemon (c. 30). Of these Strom. had taken on 24 ships (several of them transports) to the Hellespont (c. 62), and was now at Sestos. Probably also the Chian fleet had been reinforced.—οὐδέπω, because Stromb. rejoins almost immediately afterwards, c. 79, 5.

10. ὄνομα καὶ οὐκ ἔργον] cp. c. 89, 2. As the point of this phrase lies in the contrast between 'profession' and 'reality' the addition of ἄλλως to ὄνομα weakens rather than strengthens it, just as the antithesis between black and white would be spoiled by the addition of an adjective e.g. 'dark' to 'black'. Moreover though ἄλλως ('mere',—'idle') is very common in connexion with a subs. in Aristoph. Plato, etc., it only occurs as an adverb, and with verbs, in Thuc. It seems better therefore on all grounds to connect it with μένοντες: cp. vii, 42, 5 οὐ τρίψασθαι ἄλλως Ἀθηναίους.—οὐ ξυνεχῶς οὐδ' ἐντελῇ: cp. c. 45, 2. 50, 3.

14. ἐνήγον] sc. αὐτοὺς; cp. iv, 21, 3. It seems to be always transitive; sometimes its object is a person, sometimes the thing urged, cp. i, 67, 2.

- LXXIX. Αἰσθόμενοι δὲ οἱ ξύμμαχοι καὶ ὁ Ἀστύχοις τὸν θροῦν, καὶ δόξαν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ ξυνόδου ὥστε διαναυμαχεῖν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐσηγγέλλετο αὐτοῖς ἡ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ παραχῇ, ἄραντες ταῖς ναυσὶ πάσαις, οὖσαις δώδεκα καὶ ἑκατόν, καὶ τοὺς Μιλησίους πεζῇ κελεύσαντες ἐπὶ τῆς Μυκάλης παριέναι, ἔπλεον ὡς πρὸς τὴν 5  
 2 Μυκάλην. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ταῖς ἐκ Σάμου ναυσὶ δυοῖν καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα, αἱ ἔτυχον ἐν Γλαύκῃ τῆς Μυκάλης ὁρμοῦσαι (διέχει δὲ ὀλίγον ταύτῃ ἡ Σάμος τῆς ἡπείρου πρὸς τὴν Μυκάλην), ὡς εἶδον τὰς τῶν Πελοποννησίων ναῦς προσπλεούσας, ὑπεχώρησαν ἐς τὴν Σάμον, οὐ νομίσαντες τῷ πλήθει διακινδυνεύσαι περὶ τοῦ 10  
 3 παντὸς ἱκανοὶ εἶναι. καὶ ἅμα (προήσθοντο γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου ναυμαχησείοντας) προσεδέχοντο καὶ τὸν Στρομβιχίδην ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου σφίσι ταῖς ἐκ τῆς Χίου ναυσὶν ἐπ' Ἀβυδὸν ἀφικομέναις προσβοθήσειν· προυπέπεμπτο γὰρ αὐτῷ ἄγγελος.  
 4 καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἐπὶ τῆς Σάμου ἀνεχώρησαν, οἱ δὲ Πελοποννη- 15

5. ἐς for ὡς E. C omits it. 7. B marg. (in original hand) omits αὶ and changes ὁρμοῦσαι to ὁρμούντες, inserting καὶ before ὡς εἶδον. ACEFG also have καὶ.  
 9. προσεπιπλεούσας AFM. ἐπιπλεούσας CGE. 13. ἐπ' ἀβύδου CG. 14. προύπεμπτο MSS., corrected by Bauer. 15. ἀπεχώρησαν BCG.

2. δόξαν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ ξυν. ὥστε...] δόξαν is specially common in this construction; cp. v, 65, 3. viii, 93, 1. ὥστε after δοκεῖν is unusual, but it occurs after ψηφίζεσθαι vi, 88, 8, and frequently after πείθειν and ξυγχωρεῖν. For ἀπὸ ξυνόδου cp. i, 97, 1 αὐτονόμων...καὶ ἀπὸ κοινῶν ξυνόδων βουλευόντων. The ξύνοδος would probably consist of the στρατηγοὶ τῶν πόλεων and the trierarchs; v. c. 45, 3.

5. ὡς πρὸς τὴν Μυκάλην] πρὸς, as in c. 39, 3. (v. note *ad loc.*) means 'towards'. Mt. Mycale forms the peninsula opposite Samos which ends in the promontory of Trogiium. There appears to have been a town Mycale at the foot of it, of which Glaucæ was perhaps the port.

10. τῷ πλήθει...ἱκανοί] 'sufficient in their number'; slightly different from πλήθει ἱκανοί, which would mean 'sufficient in point of numbers'; cp. iii, 74, i. iv, 56, i.

11. προήσθοντο γὰρ] This goes with

ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου: friends in Miletus had sent them word; cp. v, 64, 1 ἀφικνεῖται αὐτοῖς ἀγγελία παρὰ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐκ Τεγέας.

12. προσεδέχοντο κ.τ.λ.] Strombichides started for the Hellespont (c. 62, 2) to try and recover Abydos which had revolted. ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐπ' Ἀβυδὸν ἀφικομέναις means the ships which Stromb. had with him when ἐπ' Ἀβυδὸν ἦλθε (v. *loc. cit.*). Ἀβυδὸν seems preferable to Ἀβύδου. ἀφικνεῖσθαι ἐπὶ with the acc. is very common in Thuc. whereas with the gen. it only occurs in i, 60, 3 ἀφικνούνται...ἐπὶ Θράκης. The proper use of ἐπὶ with the gen. is after verbs like πλεῖν, ἀποπλεῖν, ἀναχωρεῖν, which imply direction towards, not after those which like ἀφικνεῖσθαι imply arrival at a spot. For the same reason πλεούσαντες (p. 118, l. 1) seems more likely to be right than the reading of CG καταπλεούσαντες (ἐπὶ τῆς Μυκάλης).

σιοι πλεύσαντες ἐπὶ τῆς Μυκάλης ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο καὶ τῶν Μιλησίων καὶ τῶν πλησιοχώρων ὁ πεζός. καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ 5  
μελλόντων αὐτῶν ἐπιπλεῖν τῇ Σάμῳ ἀγγέλλεται ὁ Στρομβιχίδης  
ταῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου ναυσὶν ἀφυγμένος· καὶ εὐθὺς 6  
ἀπέπλεον πάλιν ἐπὶ τῆς Μιλήτου. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι προσγενομένων 6  
σφίσι τῶν νεῶν ἐπίπλουν αὐτοὶ ποιοῦνται τῇ Μιλήτῳ ναυσὶν  
ὀκτῶ καὶ ἑκατόν, βουλόμενοι διανυμαχῆσαι· καὶ ὡς οὐδεὶς αὐτοῖς  
ἀντανήγето, ἀπέπλευσαν πάλιν ἐς τὴν Σάμον.

LXXX. Ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ θέρει μετὰ τοῦτο εὐθὺς οἱ Πελο-  
10 ποννήσιοι, ἐπειδὴ ἀθρόαις ταῖς ναυσὶν οὐκ ἀξιόμαχοι νομίσαντες  
εἶναι οὐκ ἀντανήγοντο, ἀπορήσαντες ὁπόθεν τοσαύταις ναυσὶ  
χρήματα ἔξουσιν, ἄλλως τε καὶ Τισσαφέρνους κακῶς διδόντος,  
ἀποστέλλουσιν ὡς τὸν Φαρνάβαζον, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐκ  
τῆς Πελοποννήσου προσετάχθη, Κλέαρχον τὸν Ῥαμφίου ἔχοντα  
15 ναυὶς τεσσαράκοντα. ἐπεκαλεῖτό τε γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὁ Φαρνάβαζος καὶ 2  
τροφὴν ἐτοῖμος ἦν παρέχειν, καὶ ἅμα καὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον ἐπεκηρυκεύετο  
αὐτοῖς ἀποστήναι. καὶ αἱ μὲν τῶν Πελοποννησίων αὗται νῆες 3

1. καταπλεύσαντες CG.

7. ναυμαχῆσαι B[G].

13. ὅσπερ for ὥσπερ B.

6. αὐτοί] 'they in their turn': cp. c. 2, 4.—ὀκτῶ καὶ ἑκατόν: Strombichides took 24 ships to the Hellespont (c. 62, 2), which with the 82 mentioned in § 2 would only make 106. Perhaps the other 2 may have been those sent from Samos (§ 3) with the message to Strombichides to return.

c. 80. The Peloponnesian squadron proceeds to the Hellespont. Revolt of Byzantium.

10. ἀθρόαις ταῖς ναυσὶν] These words go with οὐκ ἀντανήγοντο, for which οὐκ ἀξιόμαχοι νομ. εἶναι gives the reason. Class. The force of the imperf. is, 'they were not inclined to': Class. alters unnecessarily to ἀντανηγόντο.—κακῶς: cp. c. 46, 5 τὴν τροφὴν κακῶς ἐπόριζε.

14. προσετάχθη] i.e. Κλέαρχος ἀρχὼν προσετάχθη. cp. c. 8, 2, 39, 2.

16. ἐπεκηρυκεύετο αὐτοῖς ἀποστήναι] ἐπεκηρυκεύεσθαι occurs with ὥστε and the infin. vii, 49, 1, but not elsewhere in Thuc. with the simple infin. in this sense (i.e. expressing 'readiness' or 'intention').

Class. quotes vii, 83, 2, but there the infin. (εἶναι ἐτοιμος...ἐμβῆναι) is merely a direct object, and the construction is not different from οὐδὲν ἐπεκηρυκεύεσθαι, etc. For the importance of this move to the Hellespont v. Xen. *Hell.* i, 1, 35. Except for Euboea the Ath. were dependent on the corn from the shores of the Hellespont and the Euxine. And Euboea revolted in this year (c. 95). Xen. says that Agis in Deceleia was struck by the sight of the corn ships sailing into the Piraeus, and declared that it was useless to ravage Attica so long as these supplies were left untouched.

17. αἱ μὲν τῶν Πελ...ἀφιστάσι] The general form of this sentence is common enough in Thucydides. He often starts with the whole subject when his statements are only going to apply to one or more sections of it. In such cases if the statement concerns one section only, he generally inserts the necessary modification of the subject in apposition, and lets one verb do duty for the whole: e.g. c.

ἀπάρασαι ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ὅπως λάθοιεν ἐν τῷ πλῶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, χειμασθεῖσαι, καὶ αἱ μὲν Δήλου λαβόμεναι αἱ πλείους μετὰ Κλεάρχου καὶ ὕστερον πάλιν ἐλθοῦσαι\*\* ἐς Μίλητον (Κλεάρχος δὲ κατὰ γῆν αὐθις ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον κομισθεὶς ἤρχεν), αἱ δὲ μετὰ Ἐλίξου τοῦ Μεγαρέως στρατηγοῦ δέκα ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον 5 4 διασωθεῖσαι Βυζάντιον ἀφιστᾶσι. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ ἐκ τῆς Σάμου πέμπουσιν αἰσθόμενοι νεῶν βοήθειαν καὶ φυλακὴν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, καὶ τις καὶ ναυμαχία βραχεῖα γίγνεται πρὸ τοῦ Βυζαντίου ναυσὶν ὀκτῶ πρὸς ὀκτῶ.

LXXXI. Οἱ δὲ προεστῶτες ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ καὶ μάλιστα Θρα- 10

3. Perhaps we should read ὕστερον πάλιν ἐλθοῦσαι ὁμοῦσιν ἐς Μίλητον. *v.* note.

13 (αἱ νῆες) περὶ τὴν Λευκαδίαν ἀποληφθεῖσαι καὶ κοπεῖσαι... αἱ λοιπαὶ πλὴν μᾶς... κατέπλευσαν ἐς τὴν Κόρινθον. If he has something definite to say about two different sections of his subject (as here) he subdivides it by οἱ μὲν—οἱ δὲ and gives each its appropriate verb: *e.g.* c. 34 αἱ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων (νῆες) αἱ μὲν μάλιστα ὁμήσασαι τρεῖς διαφθείρονται... αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι καταφεύγουσιν. But it can hardly be maintained seriously that in this particular passage the first branch of the sentence was left without a finite verb. Classen proposes to change ἐλθοῦσαι into ἦλθον omitting καὶ before αἱ μὲν and before ὕστερον. This doubtless gives the sense but it cannot have been the original reading or it would never have been altered. Stahl omits the first καὶ only and supposes that some words like ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν have fallen out after Μίλητον. A less violent alteration would be to read ὕστερον πάλιν ἐλθοῦσαι ὁμοῦσιν ἐς Μίλητον (omitting καὶ in each case, as Class.). πάλιν ἐλθεῖν is probably used of ships in i, 112, 4 (*v.* Stahl *ad loc.*), while ὁρμεῖν ἐς, 'to take up station at', besides being a natural phrase in itself, is used by Herodotus, and very possibly occurs in iv, 75, 2. Similarity of termination would account for the omission of ὁμοῦσιν.—Δήλου λαβόμεναι: 'taking refuge at Delos'; cp. iii, 24, 2. 106, 3.—Clearchus is still har-

most of Byzantium in Xen. *Hell.* i, 3, 15, and Elixus is with him in command of the Megareans.

9. ὀκτῶ πρὸς ὀκτῶ] The ships from Byzantium again appear as eight in c. 107, 1, so that two must have been permanently detached, or much injured by the storm.

cc. 81—2. *Samos.* Recall of Alcibiades who is elected one of the generals, and dissuades the armament from sailing to attack the 400 at Athens. Alc. goes to treat with Tissaphernes.

10. οἱ δὲ προεστῶτες ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ] *vis.* the στρατηγοὶ and trierarchs elected in c. 76, 2. These words have no further share in the construction, being superseded by Θρασύβουλος. It is possible that some phrase containing a plural verb may have fallen out after ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ, but it is not easy to supply one, and the correction of ἐπεισεν to ἐπεισαν (*v. crit. note*) will not help the grammar without further alteration in μετέστησε, πλεῖσας, etc. There is a similar change of number in c. 63, 1 οἱ ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῳ καὶ ὁ Ἀστούχος πυθόμενος... ἐθάρσεν.—The καὶ before δέ (p. 120, l. 1) is unintelligible, but the insertion of καὶ is frequent, and the confused state of the mss. here (*v. crit. note*) weakens their authority. The alteration of τε after δέ to γε (Meineke) may perhaps be accepted provisionally.

σύβουλος, αἶψά γε τῆς αὐτοῦ γνώμης ἐχόμενος, ἐπειδὴ μετέστησε τὰ  
 πράγματα, ὥστε κατὰγειν Ἀλκιβιάδην, [καὶ] τέλος ἀπ' ἐκκλησίας  
 ἔπεισε τὸ πλῆθος τῶν στρατιωτῶν, καὶ ψηφισαμένων αὐτῶν  
 Ἀλκιβιάδην κάθοδον καὶ ἄδειαν, πλεύσας ὡς τὸν Τισσαφέρην  
 5 κατήγεν ἐς τὴν Σάμον τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην, νομίζων μόνην σωτηρίαν,  
 εἰ Τισσαφέρην αὐτοῖς μεταστήσειεν ἀπὸ Πελοποννησίων. γενο- 2  
 μένης δὲ ἐκκλησίας τὴν τε ἰδίαν ξυμφορὰν τῆς φυγῆς ἐπητιάσατο  
 καὶ ἀνωλοφύρατο ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης, καὶ περὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν πολλὰ  
 εἰπὼν ἐς ἐλπίδας αὐτοῦς οὐ σμικρὰς τῶν τε μελλόντων καθίστη,  
 10 καὶ ὑπερβάλλων ἐμεγάλυνε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν παρὰ τῇ Τισσα-

1. καὶ αἶψά γε ACE. καὶ εἴτε F. τε καὶ αἶψά M. αὐτῆς B. αὐτοῦ ACEFG.  
 v. note. 2. καταγαγεῖν τὸν Ἀ. B. ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας ABEFGM. 3. ἔπεισαν  
 ABEF. 7. ἐπητιάσατο τῆς φυγῆς B. 8. ACEF omit τῶν before πολιτικῶν.  
 9. ἐλπίδας γε αὐτοῦς οὐ μικρὰς τῶν μελλ. AC etc.

1. τῆς αὐτοῦ γνώμης] This reading makes at least as good sense as αὐτῆς. The latter is supported only by B whose authority goes for very little in a case like this where there is a strong temptation to correct the less usual to the more usual expression (τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης occurs i, 113, 2. iii, 70, 6. v, 46, 4).—ὥστε κατὰγειν: cp. iii, 25, 2, and c. 79, 1 δόξαν ὥστε διαναυμαχεῖν.—[καὶ] τέλος... ἔπεισε: καὶ can only stand if ἔπεισε is changed to πείσας.

2. ἀπ' ἐκκλησίας] cp. c. 79, 1 δόξαν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ ξυνόδου. c. 97, 2 ἀφ' ὧν (ἐκκλησιῶν) νομοθέτας ἐψηφίσαντο. All the MSS. except C give ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας, but considering the frequent confusion of ἐπὶ and ἀπό it would hardly be reasonable to keep a phrase for which no better support can be produced than Memnon (*hist. Heracl.* c. 59), and Polyaeus (*strategg.* v, 3, 2).

3. ψηφισαμένων κάθοδον καὶ ἄδειαν] cp. c. 21 Ἀθηναίων σφίσις αὐτονομίαν... ψηφισαμένων. c. 76, 7 ἦν αὐτῷ ἄδειαν τε καὶ κάθοδον ποιήσωσιν.—κατήγεν: Poppon remarks that with *verba eundi et mittendi* the imperfect is often used where the aorist might be expected, e.g. ἀνήγοντο i, 48, 1. ἀπέστελλον vii, 20, 2. viii, 64, 2. ἀπέπεμπον vii, 29, 1. ἐπεμπον i, 26,

i. ii, 6, 1.

6. αὐτοῖς] This is not governed directly by μεταστήσειεν (which would require παρὰ σφᾶς; cp. i, 107, 7. viii, 53, 2) but is the dat. of the persons interested, in loose connexion with the whole phrase; cp. v, 3, 4.

7. τὴν...ξυμφορὰν...ἐπητιάσατο] ἐπατιᾶσθαι is always in Thuc. followed by an acc. of the person blamed, sometimes also by a gen. of the thing for which he is blamed. In any case the direct object expresses that *to* which blame attaches (which will generally of course be a person), not that *for* which somebody is blamed. cp. [Plato] *Εἰρῆ.* 329 A νῦν δ' ἄρα τὸ μῆκος τῆς πορείας...ἐπαιτιώμενος οἷε δόξαν κακίας ἀποφευγεῖσθαι ποτε; So here Alcibiades has to explain away all the harm he has done to Athens in concert with the Lac. and Tissaphernes; and accordingly the sense is 'he laid the blame upon his hard fate in being exiled', i.e. he said he had been driven to act as he did by being exiled (*not* 'he reproached them with having exiled him'). ἀνωλοφύρατο is intransitive here (as it is used both in Plato and Xenophon) 'he bewailed himself'. Classen's explanation of the passage seems to me inadmissible.

φέρει, ἵνα οἱ τε οἰκοὶ τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν ἔχοντες φοβοῦντο αὐτὸν καὶ μᾶλλον αἱ ξυνωμοσίαι διαλυθῆεν, καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ τιμιώτερόν τε αὐτὸν ἄγοιεν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ πλείον θαρσοῖεν, οἱ τε πολέμοι τῷ Τισσαφέρνῃ ὡς μάλιστα διαβάλλοιντο καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχουσῶν 3 ἐλπίδων ἐκπίπτουσι· ὑπισχνεῖτο δ' οὖν τὰδε μέγιστα ἐπικομπῶν 5 ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης, ὡς Τισσαφέρνῃ αὐτῷ ὑπεδέξατο ἡ μὴν, ἕως ἂν τι τῶν ἑαυτοῦ λείπηται, ἣν Ἀθηναῖοις πιστεύσῃ, μὴ ἀπορήσειν αὐτοὺς τροφῆς, οὐδ' ἣν δέη τελευτῶντα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ στρωμνὴν ἐξαργυρίσαι, τὰς τε ἐν Ἀσπένδῳ ἤδη οὐσας Φοινίκων ναῦς κομίζειν

7. πιστεύῃ ACEFG (in C it is corrected by first hand from πιστεύει). πιστεύητε M. 9. ἐξαργυρίῳσαι B. ἐξαργυρίσαι CG.

1. οἱ τε οἰκοὶ τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν ἔχοντες] cp. iii, 62, 3 *δυναστεία ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν εἶχε τὰ πράγματα*. viii, 74, 3 *τοὺς ἔχοντας τὴν πολιτείαν*. τε answers to καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ not to καὶ μᾶλλον κ.τ.λ. which merely gives the result of φοβοῦντο and forms one clause with the preceding words. The third clause begins with οἱ τε πολέμοι.

4. διαβάλλοιντο] By an extension of its ordinary sense 'speaking ill of' διαβάλλειν sometimes comes to mean 'to injure the credit of'; cp. ii, 18, 3 *ἡ τε ἐν τῷ ἰσθμῷ ἐπιμονὴ γενομένη καὶ... ἡ σχολαίτης διέβαλεν αὐτόν*. This meaning occurs in the passive iv, 22, 3 *μὴ ἐς τοὺς ξυμμάχους διαβληθῶσι* ('lose credit with the allies'), and has a superficial resemblance to the sense of διαβάλλοιντο here. But it is evident from a comparison of c. 83, 1, that here διαβάλλεσθαι really means 'to be set against', or 'incensed against', not 'to lose credit with'; i.e. it implies active ill-will on the part of the person who is the subject, not ill-will which he incurs. διαβάλλεσθαι in this sense is confined to Bk viii of Thuc., though it is often found in other Attic writers. It is in fact the passive, not of διαβάλλειν 'to speak ill of', but of διαβάλλειν 'to set at variance', a sense which occurs in Plato *Symp.* 222 c *πάντα τούτου ἕνεκα εἰρηκώς, τοῦ ἐμὲ καὶ Ἀγάθωνα διαβάλλειν*.

ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχουσῶν ἐλπίδων] It is hard to account for the insertion of ἀπὸ here if it is not genuine, but the ordinary usage not only of ἐκπίπτειν but of other words compounded with ἐκ is against it. ἐκπίπτειν τινός, or ἐκ τινος, is regular.

5. ὑπισχνεῖτο] This is used absolutely, as in ii, 95, 2. τὰδε μέγιστα is governed by ἐπικομπῶν, and anticipates ὡς Τισσαφέρνῃ αὐτῷ ὑπεδέξατο κ.τ.λ.—*ἦν...πιστεύσῃ*: 'if he can once feel confidence in the Ath.'; cp. c. 52 *βουλόμενον... εἰ δύναιτό πως πεισθῆναι*.—*ἑαυτοῦ στρωμνὴν ἐξαργυρίσαι*: probably these were the exact words reported by Alcibiades. Cyrus employs a similar expression (Xen. *Hell.* i, 5, 3) *τὸν θρόνον κατακόψει ἐφ' οὗ ἐκάθητο*.

9. ἐν Ἀσπένδῳ] Aspendus was on the right bank of the Eurymedon, about 7 miles from its mouth, on a hill commanding a view of the sea. v. Spratt's *Travels in Lycia*, ii, 32. Probably the marsh close by was at one time a lake forming a good harbour.—*Φοινίκων ναῦς*: elsewhere Thuc. invariably (ten times altogether) uses the adjective *Φοινισσαί* with *νῆες*. The variation here may be due to the fact that as we already have the participle *οὐσας* in agreement, the addition of the adjective would be awkward. But it is quite as likely that *Φοινίκων* is an interpolation.

Ἀθηναίοις καὶ οὐ Πελοποννησίοις· πιστεῦσαι δ' ἂν μόνως Ἀθη-  
ναίοις, εἰ σῶς αὐτὸς κατελθὼν αὐτῷ ἀναδέξαιτο.

LXXXII. Οἱ δ' ἀκούσαντες ταῦτά τε καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ  
στρατηγὸν τε αὐτὸν εὐθὺς εἶλοντο μετὰ τῶν προτέρων καὶ τὰ  
5 πρᾶγματα πάντα ἀνετίθεσαν, τὴν τε παραντίκα ἐλπίδα ἕκαστος  
τῆς τε σωτηρίας καὶ τῆς τῶν τετρακοσίων τιμωρίας οὐδενὸς ἂν  
ἠλλάξαντο, καὶ ἐτοίμοι ἦδη ἦσαν, διὰ τὸ αὐτίκα τοὺς παρόντας  
πολεμίους ἐκ τῶν λεχθέντων καταφρονεῖν, πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ.  
ὁ δὲ τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ πλεῖν τοὺς ἐγγυτέρω πολεμίους 2  
10 ὑπολιπόντας καὶ πᾶν διεκώλυσε πολλῶν ἐπειγομένων, τὰ δὲ τοῦ  
πολέμου πρῶτον ἔφη, ἐπειδὴ καὶ στρατηγὸς ἦρτο, πλεύσας ὡς  
Τισσαφέρνῃ πράξειν. καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἐκκλησίας εὐθὺς ᾤχετο, 3  
ἵνα δὴ δοκῇ πάντα μετ' ἐκείνου κοινοῦσθαι, καὶ ἅμα βουλόμενος  
αὐτῷ τιμιώτερός τε εἶναι καὶ ἐνδείκνυσθαι ὅτι καὶ στρατηγὸς ἦδη  
15 ἦρται καὶ εὖ καὶ κακῶς οἷός τ' ἐστὶν αὐτὸν ἦδη ποιεῖν. ξυνέβαινε  
δὲ τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ τῷ μὲν Τισσαφέρνῃ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους φοβεῖν,  
ἐκείνοις δὲ τὸν Τισσαφέρνῃ.

2. *ei* ὡς αὐτοὺς AEF. ὡς αὐτοὺς B. *ei* αὐτοὺς CG (?). *σῶς* is given only by M and a late hand in A. 3. ἀκούοντες B. 6. C alone preserves *ἂν* ἠλλάξαντο. The rest have *ἀντηλλάξαντο*. 7. κατὰ τὸ αὐτίκα AEFGM (G has been altered). τοὺς τε παρόντας ABEFGM. τό τε παρόντας C. 8. καὶ πλεῖν B. πλεῖν τε AC etc. *v.* note.

5. ἀνετίθεσαν] ἀνατιθέναι has here the force of ἐπιτρέπω of which there is no other instance in Thuc.; but cp. Aristoph. *Clouds* 1453 ὑμῖν ἀναθεῖς ἅπαντα τὰμὰ πρᾶγματα; also *Birds*, 546. For the ordinary sense of ἀνατιθέναι cp. viii, 51, 3, and note.

7. διὰ τὸ αὐτίκα...καταφρονεῖν] 'owing to the contempt for the enemy with which Alcibiades' words had inspired them for the moment'. αὐτίκα, as well as τὴν παραντίκα ἐλπίδα, suggests that there was a subsequent reaction; cp. iii, 56, 3 τῷ αὐτίκα χρησίμῳ; 112, 7 ἐν τῷ αὐτίκα φόβῳ. Thuc. is fond of this construction of διὰ τὸ with the infin.; cp. c. 2, 2, 71, 2. It seems clear that κατὰ τὸ αὐτίκα (*v.* crit. note) is a mistaken attempt to explain διὰ τὸ αὐτίκα regarded as an adverbial phrase. When διὰ τὸ αὐτίκα had once been separated in con-

struction from καταφρονεῖν the insertion of τε (or perhaps its substitution for γε) after τοὺς was inevitable, while the variation between καὶ πλεῖν and πλεῖν τε in the MSS. makes it more than probable that the conjunction is here also an interpolation.

10. καὶ πᾶν διεκώλυσε] 'summarily prevented'. Alcibiades takes the same course in c. 86, 4, 5.

15. ξυνέβαινε] In several passages where ξυμβαίνει is thus used in Thuc. the preposition seems to keep its proper force, and denotes either that the event referred to in point of time 'fell in with' some other event mentioned in the context (cp. i, 29, 5. v, 14, 4), or that two events, both subjects to ξυμβαίνειν, happened *simultaneously*; cp. v, 10, 7. 37, 4. viii, 64, 4, and the present passage. Similarly in composition with other verbs where as a rule the original meaning of

LXXXIII. Οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῳ πυνθανόμενοι τὴν τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου κάθοδον, καὶ πρότερον τῷ Τισσαφέρει 2 ἀπιστοῦντες, πολλῶ δὴ μᾶλλον ἔτι διεβέβληντο. ξυνηνέχθη γὰρ αὐτοῖς, κατὰ τὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Μίλητον τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπίπλουν ὡς οὐκ ἠθέλησαν ἀνταναγαγόντες ναυμαχῆσαι, πολλῶ ἐς τὴν μισθο- 5 δοσίαν τὸν Τισσαφέρην ἄρρωστότερον γενόμενον, καὶ ἐς τὸ μισεῖσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν πρότερον ἔτι τούτων διὰ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην 3 ἐπιδεδωκέναι. καὶ ξυνιστάμενοι κατ' ἀλλήλους οἴαπερ καὶ πρότερον οἱ στρατιῶται ἀνελογίζοντο καὶ τινες καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἀξιολόγων ἀνθρώπων καὶ οὐ μόνον τὸ στρατιωτικόν, ὡς οὔτε μισθὸν ἐντελῇ 10 πᾶποτε λάβοιεν τό τε διδόμενον βραχὺ καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦτο ξυνεχῶς.

3. εἰ ἔτι for ἔτι AB EF. εἰσέτι G. εἰς' ἔτι M. 4. καὶ for κατὰ all except M, which omits it. 8. πρὸς ἀλλήλους AC etc.

ξύν is absorbed or lost, there are yet occasional instances in which it is retained; cp. *ξυνελάμβανον* c. 14, 1. *ξυνέταξαν* c. 28, 4.—τῷ Τισσαφέρει and *ἐκείνους* are instrumental datives.

cc. 83—86. *Miletus*. Discontent of the Peloponnesians against Tissaphernes and Astyochus fermented by the Syracusans and Thurians. Mindarus succeeds Astyochus as admiral.

2. τῷ Τισσαφέρει] This belongs to *διεβέβληντο* as well as to *ἀπιστοῦντες*: cp. c. 81, 2.—*ξυνηνέχθη*: v. previous note on *ξυνέβαινε* (c. 82, 1. 15).

4. κατὰ τὸν...ἐπίπλουν] v. c. 79, 6.—*ἄρρωστότερον*: 'less ready'; exactly like the Lat. '*languidus*', e.g. Cic. *Q. Fr.* 1, 2, 5, 16 *si qui ante aut alieniores fuerant aut languidiore*. It would seem more natural to have written *καὶ πρότερον ἐς τὸ μισεῖσθαι ἐπιδεδωκέναι...ἄρρωστότερον γενέσθαι*. As it stands the aorist participle *γενόμενον* agrees with the subject of *ἐπιδεδωκέναι* and yet refers to a time which relatively to *ἐπιδεδωκέναι* is future, so that the sense has to be clumsily explained by the insertion of *πρότερον ἔτι τούτων*. But ἐς τὸ μισεῖσθαι...ἐπιδεδωκέναι is the essential fact, and is therefore kept as subject to *ξυνηνέχθη*.

8. *ξυνιστάμενοι κατ' ἀλλήλους*] cp.

ii, 88, 1 *κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ξυνιστάμενοι*. *ξυνίστασθαι* (abs.) is very frequently used of conspirators, but *ξυνίστασθαι πρὸς* means 'to side with'; cp. i, 1, 1. 15, 2. vi, 85, 3.—*οἴαπερ καὶ πρότερον*: this = *ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον* and characterises both *ξυνιστάμενοι* and *ἀνελογίζοντο*. The former occasion referred to is in c. 78. *ἀνελογίζεσθαι* (ὥς, ὅτι etc.) is almost always used of 'harping upon' a grievance.

9. *ἀξιολόγων*] This seems preferable to *ἀξίῳ λόγῳ*, a phrase which Thuc. generally applies to things, events, etc. (cp. i, 36, 3. iii, 90, 1. vi, 64, 1. vii, 38, 1), using *ἀξιόλογος* instead when persons are spoken of (cp. ii, 10, 3. iii, 109, 2). The latter word however is not confined to persons.—Krüger and Stahl would strike out *καὶ οὐ μόνον τὸ στρατιωτικόν* on the grounds that (1) it is not wanted, (2) *στρατιωτικός* in this sense is not used by Thuc., and is rare in the other Attic writers.

10. *μισθὸν ἐντελῇ*] i.e. *ἐντελῇ τὴν δραχμῇ*, which had been promised if the King authorised it; v. c. 29, 1. The construction of what follows is *τό τε διδόμενον βραχὺ (λάβοιεν) καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦτο ξυνεχῶς (λάβοιεν)*. *βραχὺ* is predicative. *ξυνεχῶς δίδεσθαι* occurs in c. 45, 2.



καὶ εἰ μὴ τις ἢ διανανυμάχῃσιν ἢ ἀπαλλάσσεται ὅθεν τροφήν ἔξει, ἀπολείψειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὰς ναῦς· πάντων τε Ἀστύοχον εἶναι αἴτιον, ἐπιφέροντα ὀργὰς Τισσαφέρνει διὰ ἴδια κέρδη.

LXXXIV. Ὅντων δ' αὐτῶν ἐν τοιούτῳ ἀναλογισμῷ ξυνη-  
5 νέχθη καὶ τοιόσδε τις θόρυβος περὶ τὸν Ἀστύοχον. τῶν γὰρ 2

1. ἰδὶαι νανυμάχῃσιν B.

ἔξιν AEF. ἔξι B.

1. ἀπαλλάσσεται ὅθεν] ἤγουν ἀποστή-  
σεται εἰς τόπον ὅθεν, Schol.; cp. Herod.  
ix, 11 ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι...ἐπὶ τῆς ἐνωτοῦ  
ἐκαστος, and Plat. Legg. xi, 938 A. There  
is tacit reference to the Hellespont and  
the promises of Pharnabazus (c. 80, 2).

3. ἐπιφέροντα ὀργὰς] The meaning  
of this phrase has, I think, been obscured  
by the unfortunate analogy of *morem  
gerere*, and a misunderstanding of the  
Scholiast's words. He says τὸ ἐπιφέ-  
ρειν ὀργὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ χαρίζεσθαι καὶ συγ-  
χωρεῖν ἔταπτον οἱ ἀρχαῖοι. μάρτυς Κρα-  
τῖνος ἐν Χείρωσι λέγων τὴν μουσικὴν  
ἀκορέστους ἐπιφέρειν ὀργὰς βροτοῖς σώ-  
φροσιν. [ἀντὶ τοῦ χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς σώ-  
φροσιν]. The words in brackets are  
only given in one or two MSS., and are  
evidently added by a different person who  
did not see the real bearing of the first  
note. They have however strengthened  
the impression that ἐπιφέρειν ὀργὰς is a  
mere synonym for χαρίζεσθαι and has  
a close analogy with *morem gerere*.  
Can this really be the meaning of the  
Scholiast? If so, what becomes of ἀκο-  
ρέστους in the passage of Cratinus, and  
its apparent antithesis to σώφροσιν? Indeed  
the attempts which have been made to  
explain the words on this supposition  
show not only the difficulty but the  
practical impossibility of accepting it  
(v. Cobet, *Obs. crit. in Plat. com. reli-  
quias* p. 25). But there is no such neces-  
sity. τάττειν τι ἐπὶ τινος in the language  
of the grammarians does not mean to use  
the phrases in question as exact synonyms.  
cp. Athenæus, i, p. 23 B ὅτι τὸ ἀναπίπτειν  
κυρίως ἐπὶ ψυχῆς ἐστίν, ὡς ἀθυμεῖν κ.τ.λ.  
("collapse" is a word applied to the

spirits, meaning to lose heart'); v. also  
the Schol. on Thuc. i, 132 τοῦτο δέ (sc. τὸ  
'παιδικά') τινες ἐπ' ἀγαθοῦ ἔρωτος, τινὲς δὲ  
ἐπὶ αἰσχροῦ λαμβάνουσιν. Our present  
Scholiast therefore means 'τὸ ἐπιφέρειν  
ὀργὴν is a phrase which was "applied to"  
or "used of" humouring, and cajoling.'  
But the words have a distinctive sense of  
their own which need not be lost in that  
of χαρίζεσθαι. This sense is best seen  
from the use of the adj. ἐπιφορος. ἄνεμος  
ἐπιφορος = *ventus secundus* (cp. ii, 77, 5.  
iii, 74, 2), and the metaphor of a favour-  
ing breeze readily lends itself to the idea  
of 'promoting' or 'encouraging' in any  
way; cp. the phrase *secunda irae verba*,  
Livy ii, 38. Accordingly ἐπιφέρειν ὀργὰς  
means literally 'to promote and encour-  
age a person's moods'—this is done by  
a process of χαρίζεσθαι καὶ συγχωρεῖν,  
but is not identical with χαρίζεσθαι. In  
the passage of Cratinus ἀκορέστους is  
predicative, and the sense is 'encourages  
the passions beyond control even in  
temperate men'. This is illustrated by  
Plato's treatment of music in *Rep.* iii,  
398—9. It would appear therefore that  
ἐπιφέρειν ὀργὰς is an entirely different  
metaphor and idea from *morem gerere*,  
the Greek equivalent to which is ὑποφέ-  
ρειν ὀργὴν, found in Plat. Legg. 879 c.  
Here however Astyochus is said to 'fur-  
ther Tissaphernes' own inclinations', i.e.  
to encourage him in the frame of mind  
which led him to play off Athenians and  
Lacedæmonians one against the other.  
A somewhat similar use of ἐπιφέρειν  
occurs in iii, 82, 3 πολλὸ ἐπέφερε τὴν  
ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ καινοῦσθαι τὰς διανοίας.

5. τῶν γὰρ Συρακοσίων] γὰρ intro-

Συρακοσίων καὶ Θουρίων ὅσῳ μάλιστα καὶ ἐλεύθεροι ἦσαν τὸ πλῆθος οἱ ναῦται, τοσούτῳ καὶ θρασύτατα προσπεσόντες τὸν μισθὸν ἀπῆτουν. ὁ δὲ αὐθαδέστερόν τέ τι ἀπεκρίνατο καὶ ἠπειλήσε καὶ τῷ γε Δωριεῖ ξυναγορεύοντι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ναύταις  
 3 καὶ ἐπανήρατο τὴν βακτηρίαν. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν στρατιωτῶν 5 ὡς εἶδον, οἱ αὖθις ναῦται, ὥρμησαν ἐκραγόντες ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀστύοχον ὥστε βάλλειν· ὁ δὲ προῦδὼν καταφεύγει ἐπὶ βωμόν τινα. οὐ  
 4 μέντοι ἐβλήθη γε, ἀλλὰ διελύθησαν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων. ἔλαβον δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῳ ἐνφοδομημένον τοῦ Τισσαφέρνους φρούριον οἱ Μιλήσιοι, λάθρα ἐπιπεσόντες, καὶ τοὺς ἐνόντας φύλακας αὐτοῦ 10 ἐκβάλλουσι. ξυνεδόκει δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ξυμμάχοις ταῦτα, καὶ  
 5 οὐχ ἤκιστα τοῖς Συρακοσίοις. ὁ μέντοι Λίχας οὔτε ἠρέσκετο αὐτοῖς, ἔφη τε χρῆναι Τισσαφέρνει καὶ δουλεύειν Μιλησίους καὶ

6. ἐκραγόντες E. ἐκραγόντες M. ἐγκραγόντες CG.

duces the explanation of τοῖσδε: cp. ii, 20, i. v, 68, 2. viii, 73, i. But Thucydides' regular practice in such cases is to have no connecting particle; v. Classen's note to i, 89, 2.—ὅσῳ μάλιστα καὶ ἐλεύθεροι: for ὅσῳ with the superlative cp. i, 68, 2. ii, 47, 4. iii, 45, 6. When καὶ is added it almost always follows immediately upon ὅσῳ, but here there is an object in separating μάλιστα and ἐλεύθεροι. Thuc. does not want to say that the Syracusan crews were the most free, but that they, to a greater degree than the rest, consisted of freemen.

3. αὐθαδέστερόν τέ τι] τέ is answered by the καὶ before τῷ γε Δωριεῖ. For Dorieus cp. c. 35, i.—ξυναγορεύοντι: 'joining in the demands of'; cp. vi, 6, 3. vii, 49, 3.—τὴν βακτηρίαν: v. Daremberg and Saglio (*baculum*). The long staff, like a crutch, was in common use at Athens and Sparta. Those carried by generals to mark their office (like the vine-staff of the centurion) were often decorated with an ornament at the top, or a band of metal running round. The βακτηρία was sometimes carried with the ράβδοι, or sceptre; cp. Paus. x, 30, i. also Xen. *Anab.* ii, 3, 11. Plutarch *Themist.* 11.

5. τῶν στρατιωτῶν] Herw. and Stahl propose to omit these words, on the ground that the term στρατιῶται is not applied elsewhere to ναῦται. But it certainly includes ναῦται in Nicias' speech in vii, 61, foll., and probably in ii, 88, and other passages.—ἐκραγόντες: 'breaking out into threats'; cp. Herod. vi, 129. Classen remarks that it is the opposite of κατέχειν ἐαντόν.

7. προῦδων] 'seeing them in time' almost = φθάσας. οὐ μέντοι ἐβλήθη γε in sense follows directly upon ὥστε βάλλειν, the intervening words being parenthetical.

9. τὸ ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῳ...φρούριον] Built no doubt after the first treaty (c. 18) in which the Persian king's rights over the Greek cities in Asia were fully recognised.—ἐκβάλλουσι: sc. τῆς πόλεως.

12. Λίχας] cp. c. 43, 3, and c. 52. He had previously complained of the undue concessions made to the Persians, but perhaps his Hellenic sympathies were not so keen on behalf of Ionians.—ἠρέσκετο αὐτοῖς: cp. i. 129, 3 τοῖς λόγοις τοῖς ἀπὸ σοῦ ἀρέσκομαι. αὐτοῖς is neuter, and like ταῦτα refers to the proceedings of the Milesians.—καὶ δουλεύειν answers to καὶ ἐπιθεραπεύειν.

τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐν τῇ βασιλέως τὰ μέτρια καὶ ἐπιθεραπεύειν, ἕως ἂν τὸν πόλεμον εὖ θῶνται. οἱ δὲ Μιλήσιοι ὠργίζοντό τε αὐτῷ καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλα τοιοντότροπα, καὶ νόσφ' ὕστερον ἀποθανόντα αὐτὸν οὐκ εἶασαν θάψαι οὐ ἐβούλοντο οἱ παρόντες τῶν 5 Λακεδαιμονίων.

LXXXV. Κατὰ δὴ τοιαύτην διαφορὰν ὄντων αὐτοῖς τῶν πραγμάτων πρὸς τε τὸν Ἀστύοχον καὶ τὸν Τισσαφέρην Μίνδαρος διάδοχος τῆς Ἀστυόχου ναυαρχίας ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος ἐπῆλθε καὶ παραλαμβάνει τὴν ἀρχήν· ὁ δὲ Ἀστύοχος ἀπέπλει. ξυνέπεμψε 2  
10 δὲ καὶ Τισσαφέρην αὐτῷ πρεσβευτὴν τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ, Γαυλίτην ὄνομα, Κᾶρα δίγλωσσον, κατηγορήσοντα τῶν τε Μιλησίων περὶ τοῦ φρουρίου καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἅμα ἀπολογησόμενον, εἰδὼς τοὺς τε Μιλησίους πορευομένους ἐπὶ καταβολῇ τῇ αὐτοῦ μάλιστα καὶ τὸν Ἑρμοκράτη μετ' αὐτῶν, ὃς ἔμελλε τὸν Τισσαφέρην ἀποφαίνειν  
15 φθείροντα τῶν Πελοποννησίων τὰ πράγματα μετὰ Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ ἐπαμφοτερίζοντα. ἔχθρα δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἦν αὐτῷ αἰεὶ ποτε περὶ 3 τοῦ μισθοῦ τῆς ἀποδόσεως· καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα φυγόντος ἐκ

3. δι' ἄλλα AC etc. 7. πρὸς τε τὸν Τισσ. καὶ τὸν Ἀστ. B. 11. κατηγορήσαντα ABF. 17. διαφυγόντος B.

4. οὐ ἐβούλοντο οἱ παρόντες κ.τ.λ.] i.e. in some conspicuous place like the spot chosen for Brasidas at Amphipolis 'πρὸ τῆς νῦν ἀγορᾶς οδοῦ'; cp. v, 11, 1. Perhaps οἱ παρόντες implies that it was after the main force of the Lac. had gone to the Hellespont.

6. κατὰ δὴ τοιαύτην διαφορὰν κ.τ.λ.] cp. v, 43, 1 κατὰ τοιαύτην διαφορὰν ὄντων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.—ἐπῆλθε: 'came to take the command', the same word is used of Astyochus' own arrival, c. 20, 1. cp. also § 3 ἐτέρων ἡκόντων ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς. Mindarus was killed in the following year at Cyzicus; v. Xen. *Hell.* i, 1, 18.

10. τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ] This must be proleptic, and mean 'one of his agents', i.e. τῶν περὶ ἑαυτὸν who when sent on missions would be described as οἱ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ; cp. vii, 10 οἱ παρὰ τοῦ Νικίου.

11. Κᾶρα δίγλωσσον] Caria having a sea-board with numerous Greek cities, and yet running inland into the more

strictly Persian country, formed a link between Greeks and Persians, and often supplied interpreters. cp. Herod. viii, 133, 1. Xen. *Αναβ.* i, 2, 17.

13. πορευομένους] 'that they were on their way'. This is the first intimation we have of it, though it is stated in § 4.—καταβολῇ: cp. i, 73, 1. viii, 87, 3, and note.—ἐπαμφοτερίζοντα: the word is not used elsewhere by Thuc., but cp. ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα ἔχειν, vii, 48, 3.

17. ἀποδόσεως] 'full payment': cp. c. 45, 6 ἐντελὴ αὐτοῖς ἀποδώσειν τὸν μισθόν.—αὐτὸν refers to Tissaphernes, αὐτῷ to Hermocrates. For the fact cp. cc. 29 and 45.

φυγόντος ... τοῦ Ἑρμοκράτους] It was the advice of Hermocrates that had persuaded the Syracusans to send over a squadron to assist the Lacedaemonians after the utter defeat of the Athenian armament in Sicily. He then held out hopes of speedy and decisive success, but when nearly two years had

Συρακουσῶν τοῦ Ἑρμοκράτους καὶ ἐτέρων ἡκόντων ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς τῶν Συρακοσίων ἐς τὴν Μίλητον στρατηγῶν, Ποτάμιδος καὶ Μύσκωνος καὶ Δημάρχου, ἐνέκειτο ὁ Τισσαφέρνης φυγάδι ὄντι ἤδη τῷ Ἑρμοκράτει πολλῷ ἔτι μᾶλλον καὶ κατηγορεῖ ἄλλα τε καὶ ὡς χρήματά ποτε αἰτήσας αὐτὸν καὶ οὐ τυχῶν τὴν ἔχθραν οἱ 5  
4 προθοῖτο. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀστύοχος καὶ οἱ Μιλήσιοι καὶ ὁ Ἑρμοκράτης ἀπέπλευσαν ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα· ὁ δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδης διεβεβήκει πάλιν ἤδη παρὰ τοῦ Τισσαφέρνου ἐς τὴν Σάμον.

LXXXVI. Καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Δήλου ἀπὸ τῶν τετρακοσίων [πρεσβευταί], οὓς τότε ἔπεμψαν παραμυθησομένους καὶ ἀνα- 10  
διδάξοντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ, ἀφικνοῦνται παρόντος τοῦ Ἀλκιβιά-  
2 δου, καὶ ἐκκλησίας γενομένης λέγειν ἐπεχειροῦν. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὐκ ἤθελον ἀκούειν, ἀλλ' ἀποκτείνειν ἐβόων τοὺς τὸν δῆμον καταλύοντας· ἔπειτα μέντοι μόλις ἡσυχάσαντες ἤκουσαν.  
3 οἱ δ' ἀπήγγελλον ὡς οὔτε ἐπὶ διαφθορᾷ τῆς πόλεως ἡ μεταστάσις 15  
γένοιτο, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ, οὗθ' ἵνα τοῖς πολεμίοις παραδοθῇ

16. γίγνεται B. γίνετα AM. γινεται EF.

passed, and the victory of the Athenians at Cyzicus (B.C. 410) seemed to have restored their power, the Syracusans in their disappointment deposed their generals. cp. Xen. *Hell.* i, 1, 29, ff. Hermocrates then went to Pharnabazus who provided him with ships and money to force the Syracusans to restore him, but in 407 he was killed in an attack on the city of Syracuse.

3. ἐνέκειτο...καὶ κατηγορεῖ] ἐγκέσθαι τινι in a metaphorical sense seems to imply verbal attack rather than other hostile measures; cp. ii, 59, 2. iv, 22, 2. —προθοῖτο: 'made a great show of...'; cp. iii, 64, 6.

7. ὁ δὲ Ἀλκ. διεβεβήκει] i.e. his return was contemporary with the departure of Astyochus and the Milesians.

c. 86. The deputies from the Four Hundred (c. 77) come to Samos. Alcibiades procures them a hearing. They are dismissed with the message that the armament have no objection to the Five Thousand, but insist on the resignation of the Four Hundred, and the restoration

of the Boule.

10. [πρεσβευταί] cp. c. 77, 1. In the face of Thuc.'s frequent and regular use of πρέσβεις as the plural of πρεσβυτής, the word cannot be genuine, though in the present passage it somewhat improves the sense. For οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν τετρ. Stahl compares c. 6, 2 τῶν τε ἀπὸ τοῦ Φαρναβάζου καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Τισσαφέρνου. It is very doubtful however if οἱ ἐκ τῆς Δήλου ἀπὸ τῶν τετρ. could stand by itself. What justifies it in the present case is the immediate addition of οὓς τότε ἔπεμψαν, so that the phrase is really a variety of οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν τετρ. πεμφθέντες (cp. c. 89, 1). There would have been some awkwardness about οἱ πεμφθέντες here with two fut. participles closely following in agreement.—ἀναδιδάσκειν = *edocere*, not *dedocere* (Steph.): cp. iii, 97, 1.

13. τοὺς τὸν δῆμον καταλύοντας] These seem to be the actual words used—'Death to the traitors to the democracy'. βoᾶν with an infin. though common in Xen. does not occur elsewhere in Thuc.

16. παραδοθῇ] sc. ἡ πόλις. The incur-

(ἐξεῖναι γάρ, ὅτε ἐσέβαλον ἤδη σφῶν ἀρχόντων, τοῦτο ποιῆσαι),  
 τῶν τε πεντακισχιλίων ὅτι πάντες ἐν τῷ μέρει μεθέξουσιν, οἳ τε  
 οἰκείοι αὐτῶν οὐθ' ὑβρίζονται, ὥσπερ Χαιρέας διαβάλλων ἀπήγγει-  
 λεν, οὔτε κακὸν ἔχουσιν οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖς σφετέροις αὐτῶν  
 5 ἕκαστοι κατὰ χώραν μένουσιν. ἄλλα τε πολλὰ εἰπόντων οὐδέν 4  
 μᾶλλον ἐσήκουον, ἀλλ' ἐχαλέπαινον καὶ γνώμας ἄλλοι ἄλλας  
 ἔλεγον, μάλιστα δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ πλεῖν. καὶ δοκεῖ Ἀλκιβιάδης  
 πρῶτον τότε καὶ οὐδενὸς ἔλασσον τὴν πόλιν ὠφελῆσαι· ὥρμημένων  
 γὰρ τῶν ἐν Σάμῳ Ἀθηναίων πλεῖν ἐπὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς, ἐν ᾧ  
 10 σαφέστατ' <ἀν> Ἴωνίαν καὶ Ἑλλήσποντον εὐθύς εἶχον οἱ  
 πολέμιοι, κωλυτὴς γενέσθαι. καὶ ἐν τῷ τότε ἄλλος μὲν οὐδεὶς 5  
 ἂν ἱκανὸς ἐγένετο κατασχεῖν τὸν ὄχλον, ἐκείνος δὲ τοῦ τ' ἐπίπλου  
 ἔπαυσε καὶ τοὺς ἰδίᾳ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ὀργιζομένους λοιδορῶν

1. ἐσέβαλλον AEM. 7. ἐδόκει MSS. δοκεῖ Class. v. note. 8. πρῶτος  
 AC etc. 10. σαφέστατα MSS. (omitting ἀν). v. note. 13. παύσας AEFM.  
 λοιδορῶν Madv. Ad. 334.

sion of the Lacedaemonians alluded to in the following parenthesis is mentioned in c. 71. It was immediately after the Four Hundred were established (ἤδη σφῶν ἀρχόντων).

2. τῶν τε πεντακισχιλίων...μεθέξουσιν] 'That all the Five Thousand shall in turn have a share in the actual government' (sc. μεθέξουσιν τῶν πραγμάτων; cp. c. 65, 3 οὐτε μεθεκτέον τῶν πραγμάτων πλείουσιν ἢ πεντακισχιλίοις). In c. 93, 2, the same promise is renewed, λέγοντες τοῖς τε πεντακισχιλίοις ἀποφανείν, καὶ ἐκ τούτων ἐν μέρει ἢ ἀν τοῖς πεντακισχιλίοις δοκῇ τοὺς τετρακοσίους ἐσεσθαι. Arnold and Jowett (in his translation) take the meaning to be "that all the citizens shall in turn become members of the Five Thousand". There would have been no object in this, as it was not part of the programme of any political party, and the phrase μεθέξουσιν τῶν πεντακισχιλίων is itself hardly possible.

3. ὥσπερ...ἀπήγγειλεν] v. c. 74, 3. —κακὸν ἔχουσιν: cp. ii, 76, 3 πόνον ἔχειν; viii, 48, 4 πράγματα ἔχειν.

7. δοκεῖ] ἐδόκει (v. crit. note) would naturally be followed by ὠφελεῖν (not

ὠφελῆσαι), and in any case would make less good sense.—πρῶτον: this seems decidedly preferable to πρῶτος. Thuc. is glancing at Alcibiades' whole public career (probably as Class. suggests after his death in 409), and marks this point as a new departure, the first occasion on which he undeniably consulted the interests of his country. πρῶτον, besides negating former services, implies later ones.

9. πλεῖν ἐπὶ σφᾶς αὐτοῖς] cp. i, 23, 2 ἡρημώθησαν (αἱ πόλεις)...ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀντιπολεμοῦντων. σφᾶς αὐτοῖς is also used for ἀλλήλους in § 7 and vii, 44, 4.—σαφέστατ' <ἀν>: The insertion of ἀν is due to Dobree: there is nothing improbable in its having fallen out, and though ἐν ᾧ εἶχον is the sort of phrase that might occur in a hypothetical sense, I do not think there is a real parallel among the instances quoted to support it. ἐν ᾧ occurs with slight variation of meaning in iii, 84, 2. vi, 55, 3. γενέσθαι depends on δοκεῖ.

13. λοιδορῶν ἀπέτρεπεν] like ὑπερβάλ-  
 λων ἐμεγάλυνε (81, 2), διαβάλλων ἀπή-  
 γγειλεν (§ 3). Madvig's λοιδορῶν is not  
 an improvement. cp. vi, 87, 3 μήθ' ὥς

- 6 ἀπέτρεπεν. αὐτὸς δὲ ἀποκρινάμενος αὐτοῖς ἀπέπεμπεν, ὅτι τοὺς μὲν πεντακισχιλλοὺς οὐ κωλύει ἄρχειν, τοὺς μέντοι τετρακοσίους ἀπαλλάσσειν ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς καὶ καθιστάναι τὴν βουλὴν ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον, τοὺς πεντακοσίους· εἰ δὲ ἐς εὐτέλειάν τι ξυντέμνηται, ὥστε τοὺς στρατευομένους μᾶλλον ἔχειν τροφήν, πάνυ ἐπαινεῖν. 5
- 7 καὶ τᾶλλα ἐκέλευεν ἀντέχειν καὶ μηδὲν ἐνδιδόναι τοῖς πολεμίοις· πρὸς μὲν γὰρ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς σφζομένης τῆς πόλεως πολλὴν ἐλπίδα εἶναι καὶ ξυμβῆναι, εἰ δὲ ἅπαξ τὸ ἕτερον σφαλῆσεται, ἡ τὸ ἐν Σάμῳ ἢ ἐκείνοι, οὐδὲ ὅτῳ διαλλαγῆσεται τις ἔτι ἔσσεσθαι.
- 8 Παρήσαν δὲ καὶ Ἀργεῖων πρέσβεις, ἐπαγγελλόμενοι τῷ ἐν 10 τῇ Σάμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δῆμῳ ὥστε βοηθεῖν· ὁ δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐπαινέσας αὐτοὺς καὶ εἰπὼν, ὅταν τις καλῇ, παρεῖναι, οὕτως
- 9 ἀπέπεμπεν. ἀφίκοντο δὲ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι μετὰ τῶν Παράλων, οἳ τότε ἐτάχθησαν ἐν τῇ στρατιώτιδι νηὶ ὑπὸ τῶν τετρακοσίων

2. κωλύει EFGM. κωλύειν A. 3. ἐκέλευεν ἀπαλλάσσειν AC etc. (ἐκέλευε E). 9. ἐκείνο CG. κείνοι B.

σωφρονιστάι...ἀποτρέπειν πειρᾶσθε. It is characteristic of Alcibiades that he carried with a high hand a point which nobody else would have succeeded in carrying at all.

1. ἀποκρινάμενος αὐτοῖς ἀπέπεμπεν] cp. i, 144, 2.—καθιστάναι goes closely with ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον, 'to reconstitute the Boule on the old plan'; cp. iii, 59, 3 ἐς τὰ αὐτὰ καταστήσαντας. The Four Hundred would claim to be the Boule (cp. c. 70, 1, and Aristot. Ἀθ. πολ. c. 31), so the sense is not merely to 're-store' the Boule, as if it had ceased to exist.

4. ἐς εὐτέλειάν τι ξυντέμνηται] cp. c. 1, 3 ἐς εὐτέλειαν σωφρονίσαι; c. 4 ξυστellaόμενοι ἐς εὐτέλειαν. The particular allusion is to the abolition of pay for civil offices, c. 67, 3.—πάνυ ἐπαινεῖν: It is curious how much more frequent πάνυ is in this than in the earlier books: it occurs 15 times in the eighth book, as against 22 times in all the other books together.

7. ἑπτα εἶναι...ξυμβῆναι] v. Madv. Adv. i, p. 178 foll. and note. The aorist infin. after ἑπτα (ἔστι) is common both

in Thuc. and other writers; cp. ii, 80, 1. iii, 3, 3. iv, 70, 2 (ἐν ἐλπίδι εἶναι). v, 9, 7. But the instances where it occurs in good Attic after ἐπιζω are comparatively very few and none of those in Thuc. are certain. For ξυμβαίνειν πρὸς τινα cp. i, 103, 1. iii, 27, 1. iv, 61, 7.

11. ὥστε βοηθεῖν] After many verbs which imply intention a redundant ὥστε is occasionally inserted; cp. c. 63, 3. 79, 1. ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι however is followed by a simple infin. vi, 88, 6, and there seems to be a special reason for the insertion of ὥστε here, viz. to separate τῷ... δῆμῳ from βοηθεῖν and connect it more closely with ἐπαγγελλόμενοι. 'They sent proposals addressed to "The Athenian democracy at Samos", offering assistance'. Special attention is thus called to the novel phrase which they used.

12. εἰπὼν...παρεῖναι] cp. i, 78, 4. ii, 71, 4. For οὕτως after a part. Class. compares i, 37, 1. iii, 96, 2. iv, 88.

13. οἳ τότε ἐτάχθησαν] v. c. 74, 2.—[πεμπτοῦς]: this appears to have been the origin of πέμποναι (v. crit. note), but it is difficult to believe that it is itself

περιπλεῖν Εὐβοίαν, καὶ ἄγοντες Ἀθηναίων ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἀπὸ  
τῶν τετρακοσίων [πεμπτοὺς] πρέσβεις, Λαισποδίαν καὶ Ἀριστο-  
φῶντα καὶ Μελησίαν, ἐπειδὴ ἐγένοντο πλείοντες κατ' Ἄργος, τοὺς  
μὲν πρέσβεις ξυλλαβόντες τοῖς Ἀργείοις παρέδωσαν ὡς τῶν οὐχ  
5 ἤκιστα καταλυσάντων τὸν δῆμον ὄντας, αὐτοὶ δὲ οὐκέτι ἐς τὰς  
Ἀθήνας ἀφίκοντο, ἀλλ' ἄγοντες ἐκ τοῦ Ἀργους ἐς τὴν Σάμον  
τοὺς πρέσβεις ἀφικνούνται ἥπερ εἶχον τριήρει.

LXXXVII. Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους Τισσαφέρνης, κατὰ τὸν  
καιρὸν τοῦτον ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα διὰ τε τὰλλα καὶ διὰ τὴν Ἀλκιβιάδου  
10 κάθοδον ἤχθοντο αὐτῷ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι ὡς φανερώς ἤδη ἀττικί-  
ζοντι, βουλούμενος, ὡς ἐδόκει δὴ, ἀπολύεσθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὰς  
διαβολάς, παρεσκευάζετο πορεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὰς Φοινίσσας ναῦς ἐς  
Ἀσπενδον, καὶ τὸν Λίχαν ξυμπορεύεσθαι ἐκέλευε· τῇ δὲ στρατιᾷ  
προστάζειν ἔφη Ταμῶν ἑαυτοῦ ὑπαρχον, ὥστε τροφὴν ἐν ὧσιν ἂν  
15 αὐτὸς ἀπὴ διδόναι. λέγεται δὲ οὐ κατὰ ταῦτό, οὐδὲ ῥάδιον εἶδέναι 2

2. πέμπουσι for πεμπτοὺς AB[C]EFG. Unfortunately C has here been destroyed by damp, and restored by a later hand. 3. οἱ ἐπειδὴ MSS. v. note. 9. AC etc. omit the second διὰ. 11. δεῖ for δὴ AEF. οἱ B.

genuine. Perhaps the original interpolator took ἀπὸ τῶν τετρακοσίων closely with πρέσβεις, and thought that, on the analogy of i, 110, i. v, 55, i. viii, 77, some participle implying 'motion or origin from' was needed. The need is however amply supplied by ἄγοντες, with which ἀπὸ τῶν τετρ. should be connected. ὁ before ἐπειδὴ will not suit the construction unless (with Hude) we change ἄγοντες to ἄγειν. But the accumulation of participles without conjunctions is much more in Thucydides' manner (cp. ii, 91, 4. iii, 3, 5. vi, 97, 4.), and the sentence is sufficiently rambling to suggest some such insertion as οἱ to a careless reader. The ambassadors are those mentioned in c. 71, 3. For Laispodias cp. vi, 105, 2. Aristoph. *Birds* 1569.—κατ' Ἄργος: 'off Argos', cp. i, 46, 3. ii, 30, 2.—ἥπερ εἶχον τριήρει: This is almost equivalent to saying ὥσπερ εἶχον, ἐν τῇ στρατιώτιδι νηϊ. It draws attention to the fact that the trireme was not an ordinary one.

cc. 87—8. Tissaphernes goes to A-

spendus promising to bring up the Phoenician fleet to assist the Peloponnesians. Speculations as to why the fleet never came. Alcibiades leaves Samos and follows Tissaphernes to Aspendus, professing in order to prevent his bringing up the Phoenicians.

9. ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα] 'at the very moment when': for this sense of μάλιστα cp. iii, 34, i. i, 41, 2.—ὡς ἐδόκει δὴ: 'as certainly it appeared'. δὴ by drawing attention to ἐδόκει implies that appearances may have been deceptive. cp. c. 82, 3.

11. ἀπολύεσθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὰς δ.] 'to clear himself in their judgment etc.'. cp. the common phrase πρὸς τοὺς θεσμοθέτας, 'in the court of the Thesmothetae'. ἀπολύεσθαι is similarly used in v, 75, 3.

13. τῇ δὲ στρατιᾷ] This is governed by τροφὴν διδόναι. Tamos is mentioned in c. 31, 3, as Ἰωνίας ὑπαρχος.

15. λέγεται δὲ οὐ κατὰ ταῦτό] a variation of πολλαχῇ εἰκάζεται which occurs just below. For the use of λέγεται cp.

τίνι γνώμη παρήλθεν ἐς τὴν Ἀσπενδον καὶ παρελθὼν οὐκ ἦγαγε  
 3 τὰς ναῦς. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ αἱ Φοίνισσαι νῆες ἐπὶ τὰ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα  
 καὶ ἑκατὸν μέχρη Ἀσπένδου ἀφίκοντο σαφές ἐστι· διότι δὲ οὐκ  
 ἦλθον πολλαχῇ εἰκάζεται. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἵνα διατρίβῃ ἀπελθὼν,  
 ὥσπερ καὶ διενόηθη, τὰ τῶν Πελοποννησίων (τροφὴν γοῦν οὐδὲν 5  
 βέλτιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ χεῖρον ὁ Ταμῶς, ᾧ προσετάχθη, παρῆχεν), οἱ  
 δὲ ἵνα τοὺς Φοίνικας προαγαγὼν ἐς τὴν Ἀσπενδον ἐκχρηματίσαιτο  
 ἀφείς (καὶ γὰρ ὡς αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἔμελλε χρήσεσθαι), ἄλλοι δ' ὡς  
 καταβοῆς ἔνεκα τῆς ἐς Λακεδαίμονα, τοῦ λέγεσθαι ὡς οὐκ ἀδικεῖ,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ σαφῶς οἴχεται ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἀληθῶς πεπληρωμένους. 10  
 4 ἐμοὶ μέντοι δοκεῖ σαφέστατον εἶναι τριβῆς ἔνεκα καὶ ἀνοκωχῆς  
 τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τὸ ναυτικὸν οὐκ ἀγαγεῖν, φθορᾶς μὲν, ἐν ὅσῳ

1. ἦγε AEFGM. ἦγε C. 9. ἐς τὴν Λακ. B. τὸ λέγεσθαι CEFGM.  
 τῷ Α. τῷ Β. τοῦ Πορρο. 11. διατρίβῃς B. v. note.

ii, 20, 1 γνώμη δὲ τοιαύδε λέγεται τὸν  
 Ἀρχίδαμον...μεῖναι.

3. διότι δὲ οὐκ ἦλθον] 'why they  
 never arrived'. εἰθεῖν often stands for  
 an expected arrival where some more  
 explicit word would seem more natural;  
 cp. iv, 65, 3. From εἰκάζεται the sense  
 of εἰκάζουσι must be supplied after οἱ μὲν  
 γάρ. The explanations which follow are  
 very confused. The first and third are  
 strictly only reasons for Tiss. going to  
 Aspendus, the second for his bringing  
 the Phoenicians so far; but inasmuch as  
 they all imply a want of good faith upon  
 his part, they are also in some sense  
 explanations διότι οὐκ ἦλθον αἱ Φοίνισσαι  
 νῆες.

4. διατρίβῃ...ἐκχρηματίσαιτο ἀφείς]  
 For the change of mood cp. iii, 23, 8. vi,  
 96, 3. vii, 17, 4. There is no corre-  
 sponding change of meaning. v. Good-  
 win, *M. and T.*, § 321. προαγαγὼν and  
 ἀφείς belong equally to ἐκχρηματίσαιτο:  
 'by first calling them up and then dis-  
 missing them'. When two participles  
 thus describing successive actions are at-  
 tached to one verb, they are not commonly  
 in Thuc. connected by καὶ; cp. iii, 70, 6  
 λαβόντες ἐγχειρίδια ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἐσελθόν-  
 τες τὸν Πειθίαν κτείνουσι. iv, 23, 1. 73, 1.

92, 1. vii, 31, 1. Other instances in  
 which the second participle is put *after*  
 the verb are i, 113, 1. ii, 21, 1. v. Hache  
*de part. Thuc.* pt. ii, p. 8. For καὶ ὥς  
 cp. c. 51, 2, and note.

9. καταβοῆς ἔνεκα τῆς ἐς Λακεδαί-  
 μονα] This clearly refers back to c. 85,  
 2 εἰδὼς τοὺς Μιλησίους πορευομένους ἐπὶ  
 καταβοῇ τῇ αὐτοῦ μάλιστα. Tissaphernes  
 wished to provide himself with a specious  
 defence. For καταβοῇ ἢ ἐς Λακ. cp. iii,  
 109, 2 Πελοποννησίου διαβαλεῖν ἐς τοὺς  
 ἐκείνη...Ἕλληνας. iv, 22, 3 μὴ ἐς τοὺς  
 συμμάχους διαβληθῶσιν. Probably τοῦ  
 λέγεσθαι, 'that it might be asserted', is  
 another instance of the construction dis-  
 cussed in the note on τοῦ μὴ ἐξάγγελτοι  
 γενέσθαι, c. 14, 1. The ordinary way of  
 understanding this passage '*ut fama rei*  
*Lacedaemonem perveniret*' (Stahl, Classen  
 etc.) makes poor sense and gives an  
 impossible meaning to καταβοῇ.

11. τριβῆς ἔνεκα καὶ ἀνοκωχῆς]  
 Whether τριβῆς or διατρίβῃς is right here  
 the word must mean 'wearing out', not  
 'delay'; for φθορᾶς and ἀνισώσεως are  
 mere repetitions of [δια]τριβῆς and ἀνο-  
 κωχῆς. διατρίβῃς in B may perhaps be  
 due to a comparison of ἵνα διατρίβῃ (§ 3),  
 and τριβῇ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν seems far the



παρῇ ἐκεῖσε καὶ διέμελλεν, ἀνισώσεως δέ, ὅπως μηδετέροις προσθέμενος ἰσχυροτέρους ποιήσῃ, ἐπεὶ, εἴ γε ἐβουλήθη, διαπολεμήσαι ἂν ἐπιφανεῖς δῆπου οὐκ ἐνδοιαστώσ· κομίσας γὰρ ἂν Λακεδαιμονίοις τὴν νίκην κατὰ τὸ εἶκος ἔδωκεν, οἷ γε καὶ ἐν τῷ 5 παρόντι ἀντιπάλως μᾶλλον ἢ ὑποδεεστέρας τῷ ναυτικῷ ἀνθώρμουν. καταφωρᾷ δὲ μάλιστα καὶ ἦν εἶπε πρόφασιν οὐδ' κομίσας τὰς ναῦς. ἔφη γὰρ αὐτὰς ἐλάσσους ἢ ὅσας βασιλεὺς ἔταξε ξυλλεγῆναι· ὁ δὲ χάριν ἂν δῆπου ἐν τούτῳ μείζω ἔτι ἔσχευ, οὔτε ἀναλώσας πολλὰ [τῶν βασιλέως], τά τε αὐτὰ ἀπ'

1. μηδετέροις ACEFG. 2. προσθεμένους ACEF. 3. π + φανὲς B. περὶ ἐπιφανὲς A. περὶ ἐπιφανὲς F. πέρι ἐπιφανὲς M. ἐπιφανὲς CGE. The conjecture ἐπιφανεῖς (v. note) is Reiske's. Dobree supplied the ἂν after διαπολεμήσαι which has fallen out in the MSS. ἐνδυσαστῶς C. ἐγγυσαστῶς AEF.

more natural phrase. τριβή occurs in this sense in the tragedians, but apparently not in Attic prose.

1. μηδετέροις] The dat. seems preferable in spite of Stahl's objection that the negative belongs only to ἰσχ. ποιήσῃ. The whole phrase προσθέμενος ἰσχ. ποιήσῃ hangs together so closely in sense that the want of logical correctness in the application of the negative is not noticeable.

2. διαπολεμήσαι ἂν ἐπιφανεῖς] This makes good sense and is probably right. 'For if he had chosen to do so, I suppose there can be no doubt that he could have finished the war at once by his appearance on the scene',—i.e. his appearance with the Phoenician ships. ἐπιφαίνεσθαι is used exactly in this way of naval reinforcements coming up in c. 42, 3 μέχρι οὐ ἐπεφάνησαν αὐτοῖς παρὰ δόξαν αἱ πλείους τῶν νεῶν (cp. also ἀναφανεῖς iv, 36, 2). Moreover κομίσας in the following sentence (without τὰς ναῦς) seems to assume that we have just been speaking of bringing up the ships (which would not be the case if we keep ἐπιφανεῖς).

5. ἀνθώρμουν] at Miletus, 'opposite' the Ath. at Samos. The adverbs ἀντιπάλως and ὑποδεεστέρας do not occur elsewhere in Thuc.

8. ὁ δὲ χάριν ἂν δῆπου... ἔσχευ] The ordinary way of understanding this, viz. 'he (Tissaphernes) would have earned gratitude from the King', is unsatisfactory for two reasons: (1) χάριν ἔχειν means 'to be grateful' not 'to earn gratitude' (Eur. *Hec.* 830 is not an instance to the contrary), and though the latter meaning is in itself conceivable, it is extremely unlikely that in such a common phrase a sense diametrically opposite to the ordinary one should have been arbitrarily employed; (2) ὁ δὲ is unnecessary, and by no means natural, *unless* there is a change of subject. cp. c. 84, 3 ὤρμησαν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀστύοχον ὥστε βάλλειν. ὁ δὲ προῖδων.... This example is only a type of a use which occurs again and again; in fact it is so regular that even without the difficulty of χάριν ἔχειν one would strongly suspect that ὁ δὲ here must refer not to Tissaphernes, but to βασιλεὺς. I have therefore bracketed the words τῶν βασιλέως, which may easily have been written to explain πολλὰ by some one who did not understand the sentence as it stood, and may thus have found their way into the text. πολλὰ standing alone will not seem strange in view of its frequent adverbial use, e.g. τραυματισθεῖς πολλὰ iv, 12, 1, πολλὰ σφαλέντος vi, 33, 6.

6 ἐλασσόνων πράξας. ἐς δ' οὖν τὴν Ἀσπενδον ᾗτινι δὴ γνώμη ὁ Τισσαφέρνης ἀφικνεῖται καὶ τοῖς Φοίνιξι ξυγγίγνεται· καὶ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι ἔπεμψαν ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς ναὺς κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ Φίλιππον ἄνδρα Λακεδαιμόνιον δύο τριήρεσιν.

LXXXVIII. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸν Τισσαφέρνη 5 ᾗσθετο παρίοντα ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσπένδου, ἔπλει καὶ αὐτὸς λαβὼν τρεῖς καὶ δέκα ναὺς, ὑποσχόμενος τοῖς ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ ἀσφαλῇ καὶ μεγάλην χάριν (ἥ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἄξειν Ἀθηναίοις τὰς Φοινίσσας ναὺς ἢ Πελοποννησίοις γε κωλύσειν ἐλθεῖν), εἰδώς, ὡς εἰκός, ἐκ πλείονος τὴν Τισσαφέρνους γνώμην ὅτι οὐκ ἄξειν ἔμελλε, καὶ 10 βουλόμενος αὐτὸν τοῖς Πελοποννησίοις ἐς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ Ἀθηναίων φιλίαν ὡς μάλιστα διαβάλλειν, ὅπως μᾶλλον δι' αὐτὸ σφίσιν ἀναγκάζοιτο προσχωρεῖν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἄρας εὐθὺ τῆς Φασήλιδος καὶ Καύνου ἄνω τὸν πλοῦν ἐποιεῖτο.

11. ἐς τὴν αὐτοῦ AC etc.

12. δι' αὐτὸν B.

And if difficulty is felt as to making βασιλεὺς the subject to ἀναλώσας and πράξας, that is amply borne out by the way in which he is treated as direct agent throughout c. 46.—ἀπ' ἐλασσόνων: 'with fewer ships'. cp. iii, 19, 2 ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν λόγων, 'with the same arguments'.

1. δ' οὖν] This resumes after the parenthesis which began with λέγεται § 2. cp. i, 3, 4. ii, 34, 8.

5. καὶ τὸν Τισσ.] καὶ corresponds proleptically to the καὶ before αὐτός. cp. iv, 87, 2. In cases like this where single words (not clauses) are coupled, the interval is not generally so great. Note the accumulation of participles in agreement, λαβὼν, ὑποσχόμενος, εἰδώς, καὶ βουλόμενος. v. Hache, *de Part. Thuc.* ii (B), p. 1.

9. ἐκ πλείονος] The phrase occurs six times in Thuc. (iv, 42, 3. 103, 4. 129, 4. v, 82, 3. here, and c. 91, 1). In most of these passages the meaning is clearly temporal. cp. c. 45, 2 ἐκ πλείονος χρόνου. In iv, 42, 3. 129, 4. it is possible that, on the analogy of ἐξ ἴσου, ἐκ πλείονος means 'to a greater extent or degree'. And

this sense is not inappropriate to the present passage, though I do not hesitate to prefer the other. Class. discusses the subject on v, 82, 3.

11. ἐς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ... διαβάλλειν] 'to discredit him with the Peloponnesians'. For the various meanings of διαβάλλειν v. note on c. 81, 2. ἐς means 'with reference to'; cp. v, 75, 3 ἐπιφερομένην αἰτίαν ἐς μαλακίαν.

13. εὐθὺ τῆς Φασήλιδος] In this and similar phrases it is the general idea of 'making for' which governs the genitive, and not εὐθὺ alone, just as ἐφικέσθαι and the like may take a genitive. It is curious that here, as on the return voyage (c. 108, 1), the proper geographical order is inverted. The MSS. are not trustworthy in such a case, but still it is quite likely that Thuc. put first the name most prominent in his mind, irrespective of geographical position. Alc. is now really going to Phaselis—by way of Caunus. He returns actually from Caunus—having previously come from Phaselis. Phaselis, the chief harbour on the E. coast of Lycia, was on the line which Persian ships of war were not allowed to pass under the

LXXXIX. Οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς Σάμου ἀπὸ τῶν τετρακοσίων πεμ-  
φθέντες πρέσβεις ἐπειδὴ ἀφικόμενοι ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπήγγειλαν  
τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου, ὡς κελεύει τε ἀντέχειν καὶ μηδὲν  
ἐνδιδόναι τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἐλπίδας τε ὅτι πολλὰς ἔχει κἀκείνοις  
5 τὸ στράτευμα διαλλάξειν καὶ Πελοποννησίων περιέσεσθαι, ἀχθο-  
μένους καὶ πρότερον τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν μετεχόντων τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας  
καὶ ἡδέως ἂν ἀπαλλαγέντας πῃ ἀσφαλῶς τοῦ πράγματος πολλῶ  
δὴ μᾶλλον ἐπέρρωσαν. καὶ ξυνίσταντό τε ἤδη καὶ τὰ πράγματα 2  
διεμέμφοντο, ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνας τῶν πάνυ [στρατηγῶν] τῶν ἐν τῇ  
10 ὀλιγαρχίᾳ καὶ ἐν ἀρχαῖς ὄντων, οἷον Θηραμένη τε τὸν Ἀγνωνος  
καὶ Ἀριστοκράτη τὸν Σκελλίου καὶ ἄλλους, οἱ μετέσχον μὲν ἐν  
τοῖς πρῶτοι τῶν πραγμάτων, φοβούμενοι δ', ὡς ἔφασαν, τό τε

1. καὶ οἱ δὲ ἐκ Μ. 2. ἀπήγγειλλον Μ. 6. τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ πρότερον Β.  
11. ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοις Β. ἐν πρῶτοις AC etc. 12. φοβούμενοι ἀδεῶς A corr. FM.  
αδεῶς E.

treaty concluded with Athens in 450 B.C. That is why the Phoenician ships had their headquarters at Aspendus in Pamphylia.—ἄνω: 'inland' i.e. to Greeks in Ionia 'eastwards', and in that sense it appears to be used here. Perhaps it implied also 'towards the King's country.'

cc. 89—90. Athens. The deputation sent by the Four Hundred to Samos return with Alcibiades' message. Theramenes and the moderate party begin to separate from the more violent aristocrats, who send to Sparta to make peace on any terms. They also build a fort at the entrance of the Peiraeus and provision it, in order to command the approaches to Athens by sea.

2. οἱ πρέσβεις] They were despatched c. 72, 1, but waited at Delos on receiving news of the counter-revolution at Samos (c. 77). Later on they proceeded to Samos and delivered their message (c. 86).

6. τῶν μετεχόντων τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας] Probably this means the rank and file of the moderate oligarchic party. μετέχειν τῶν πραγμάτων on the other hand is to have an actual share in the govern-

ment.—τὰ πράγματα διεμέμφοντο: τὰ πράγματα=τὰ πράσσομενα: cp. c. 48, 3 ἤχθετο τοῖς πρᾶσσομένοις. διεμέμφοντο appears to mean ἐμέμφοντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους. cp. the similar use of διαλέγεσθαι c. 93, 2; διαβοᾶν c. 78, 1; and διακελεύεσθαι Herod. i, 1.

9. τῶν πάνυ κ.τ.λ.] v. note on c. 1, 1. As Aristocrates was not now στρατηγός, but ταξίαρχος (c. 92, 4), there seems reason to follow Stahl in bracketing στρατηγῶν, which may have been intended to explain ἐν ἀρχαῖς ὄντων. τῶν ἐν τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ κ.τ.λ. will then be a partitive gen. and the whole expression will closely resemble τοῖς πάνυ τῶν στρατιωτῶν c. 1, 1. Aristocrates was one of the generals at Arginusae; cp. Xen. *Hell.* i, 5, 16, 7, 2.

11. ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοις] The phrase (probably) occurs three times in Thuc. *vis.* i, 6, 3, vii, 19, 4, and here. In both the last cases the MSS. are practically unanimous for πρῶτοις, but their evidence in such matters is of little value, and (besides i, 6, 3) we find analogous phrases such as ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα καὶ ἐκ πλείστου ἐναντίος, c. 90, 1.

ἐν τῇ Σάμφ στράτευμα καὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην σπουδῇ πάνυ, τοὺς  
 τε ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα πρεσβευομένους, μὴ τι ἄνευ τῶν πλειόνων  
 κακὸν δράσωσι τὴν πόλιν, οὕτω ἀπαλλαξείειν\*\* τοῦ ἄγαν ἐς  
 3 ὀλίγους ἐλθεῖν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς πεντακισχιλίους ἔργῳ καὶ μὴ ὀνόματι  
 δὲ τοῦτο μὲν σχῆμα πολιτικὸν τοῦ λόγου αὐτοῖς, κατ' ἰδίας δὲ

1. CM omit σπουδῇ πάνυ. 2. πρεσβευομένους ἔπεμπον ABEFG. 3. δρά-  
 σεων B. τῇ πόλει M. οὐ τῶι for οὕτω B, ουτο C, the rest οὐ τὸ. ἀπαλλάξειν  
 MSS. Schol. ἔλεγον οὐχ ὅτι ἀπαλλακτικῶς ἔχουσι. v. note. 4. οἰκεῖν (for  
 ἐλθεῖν) M. 5. ἰσωτέραν M. εἰς ἑτέραν F. ἐς ἑτέραν AB. ἐσετέραν E.  
 6. τὸ σχῆμα AEFGM.

1. σπουδῇ πάνυ] 'in good earnest'.  
 This is Thucydides' own judgment, as  
 is shown by § 4.

τοὺς τε ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα κ.τ.λ.]  
 There are two difficulties in this part of  
 the sentence, neither of them very im-  
 portant, but of a kind which cannot be  
 finally cleared up. Thucydides obviously  
 means to say, 'They were genuinely afraid  
 of Alcibiades and of the extreme oligarchy  
 who were opening negotiations with  
 Sparta; they did not however venture  
 to propose the abolition of the oligarchy,  
 but only that the 5000 should be clearly  
 recognised'. The first difficulty is ἔπεμπον  
 after πρεσβευομένους. It is just possible  
 to construe it, as Goeller proposes, by  
 reading οὐς for τοὺς, but this correction,  
 which has actually been made in some  
 of the inferior MSS., is at best a clumsy  
 makeshift. I have preferred to follow  
 CM (supported by the Scholiast) in omit-  
 ting ἔπεμπον, rather than break the sen-  
 tence by retaining it in brackets. Stahl  
 suggests that it may be part of a marginal  
 explanation of πρεσβευομένους (οἱ πρέσβεις  
 ἔπεμπον) to show that πρεσβεύεσθαι is here  
 used transitively. The second difficulty is  
 to reduce to sense οὐ τὸ ἀπαλλάξειν of the  
 MSS. First, as Abresch saw, the Scholiast  
 helps us to ἀπαλλαξείειν which is evidently  
 what he paraphrases by ἀπαλλακτικῶς  
 ἔχουσι. Again οὐ τὸ with variants οὐ τῶι  
 and οὕτω may perfectly well represent

οὕτω. If we further suppose that some  
 word, impossible now to recover, but  
 for which ἔλεγον may stand, has dropped  
 out after ἀπαλλαξείειν, the whole sense  
 becomes perfectly clear and straight-  
 forward. Actual certainty is impossible,  
 but there seems no reason to hesitate as  
 to the lines on which the sentence must  
 be restored. Madvig's suggestion ἀπαλ-  
 λαξείειν ἤξιουν looks plausible at first, but  
 ἤξιουν is not the word wanted in this  
 clause, and does not suit χρῆναι in the  
 next. For the recognition of the 5000  
 as a first step towards the restoration of  
 democracy cp. c. 92, 11.

3. ἐς ὀλίγους ἐλθεῖν] Stahl quotes  
 Aristot. Pol. ii, 9 διόπερ εἰς ὀλίγους ἤκεν  
 ἡ χώρα. cp. v, 81, 2 τὰ ἐν Σικυῶνι ἐς  
 ὀλίγους μᾶλλον κατέστησαν. Possibly  
 however οἰκεῖν is right.

5. ἦν δὲ τοῦτο κ.τ.λ.] 'They thus  
 gave their action a professed political  
 character'. I do not think it is possible  
 here to give σχῆμα the sense which it  
 has in vi, 89, 6, viz. 'a form of constitu-  
 tion' (so Stahl and Class.). Even if we  
 grant, what is by no means obvious, that  
 σχῆμα πολιτικὸν may stand for σχῆμα  
 πολιτείας, there is no reason to think that  
 the gen. τοῦ λόγου can be attached like an  
 adjective to any phrase that may occur,  
 in the sense of 'unreal'. On the other  
 hand it may be, and is, used as a further  
 explanation of words which in themselves

φιλοτιμίας οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν τῷ τοιούτῳ προσέκειντο, ἐν ᾧπερ καὶ μάλιστα ὀλιγαρχία ἐκ δημοκρατίας γενομένη ἀπόλλυται· πάντες γὰρ αὐθημερὸν ἀξιούσιν οὐχ ὅπως ἴσοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ πρῶτος αὐτὸς ἕκαστος εἶναι· ἐκ δὲ δημοκρατίας αἰρέσεως γιγνομένης ῥᾶν τὰ ἀποβαίνοντα ὥς οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμοίων ἐλασσούμενός τις φέρεται. σαφέστατα δ' αὐτοὺς ἐπήρε τὰ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου ἰσχυρὰ ὄντα καὶ ὅτι αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐδόκει μόνιμον τὸ τῆς

4. ἕκαστος ὑπερβολὴν CEG.

imply unreality; cp. c. 91, 3 καὶ οὐ πᾶν διαβολὴ μόνον τοῦ λόγου. No one would argue that διαβολὴ τοῦ λόγου justifies such a combination as πολιτεία τοῦ λόγου, nor so long as we understand σχῆμα πολιτικὸν in the sense of 'a particular sort of constitution' is it a phrase to which τοῦ λόγου might reasonably be attached. But if we take the words to mean that they gave their action 'a political character', we have at once an implication of unreality which, as in the case of διαβολή, is most conveniently and naturally emphasised by τοῦ λόγου, strengthening the idea already contained in σχῆμα. Moreover the contrast with their real motive, viz. personal aggrandisement, requires the previous mention not of any particular form of polity which they proposed, but of their having broadly assumed 'political objects'.

1. τῷ τοιούτῳ προσέκειντο] cp. vii, 50, 4 ἣν γὰρ ἄγαν θειασμῷ τε καὶ τῷ τοιούτῳ προσκείμενος. The vague expression τὸ τοιοῦτον is explained below by ἡγωνίζετο οὐκ εἰς ἕκαστος κτλ. For ἐν ᾧπερ ἀπόλλυται cp. Plato *Prot.* 324 E ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ αὐτὴ λύεται ἡ ἀπορία. Thuc. vi, 18, 4 ἐν ᾧ...ὠφελήσόμεθα. vii, 8, 2 ἐν τῷ ἀγγέλῳ ἀφανισθεῖσαν.

3. αὐθημερὸν] 'from the first day when the oligarchy is established'. οὐχ ὅπως ἴσοι refers back to τὴν πολιτείαν ἰσχυτέραν καθιστάναι.—πρῶτος αὐτὸς ἕκαστος εἶναι: αὐτὸς emphasises the selfishness of their ambition. The same phrase occurs without αὐτὸς in ii, 65, 10 ὁρεγόμενοι τοῦ πρῶτος ἕκαστος γίγνεσθαι.

Cp. also iv, 108, 3 βουλόμενοι αὐτοὶ ἕκαστοι πρῶτοι ἀποστήναι.

4. ἐκ δὲ δημοκρατίας κ.τ.λ.] 'But when election is under a democracy men take the result more easily; for they are not suffering defeat at the hands of their equals'; i.e. the members of an oligarchy are all of the same class, and the promotion of one is a slight upon the rest, but in a democracy the electors may be ill-informed or prejudiced, and defeat can be explained away. ἐκ δημοκρατίας must mean *in accordance with* a democratic constitution; cp. ii, 16, 2 ἰερὰ δὲ διὰ παντὸς ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον πολιτείας πάτρια. iv, 133, 3 ἄλλην ἰέρεαν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου τοῦ προκειμένου κατεστήσαντο. v, 9, 4. 25, 2. For ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμοίων (masc.) cp. i, 141, 1 δικαίωσις ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμοίων πρὸ δίκης τοῖς πέλας ἐπιτασσομένη. For αἰρεσις v. Aristot. *Pol.* iv, 15, 16. A very similar remark is made by Bacon (*Essay* ix), 'Lastly, near Kinsfolk and Fellows in Office, and those that have been bred together, are much more apt to *Envy* their Equals when they are raised. For it doth upbraid unto them their own Fortunes, and pointeth at them, and cometh oftener into their Remembrance'.

6. τὰ...τοῦ Ἀλκ. ἰσχυρὰ ὄντα] 'The strength of Alcibiades' influence'. For a similar use of the participle cp. i, 2, 4. i, 100, 3 (τὸ χωρὶν...κτιζόμενον).—καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἐδόκει: 'and the fact that they did not expect...'. It is unusual to find ὅτι introducing a subject clause (to verbs other than εἶναι) unless some antecedent (e.g. τοῦτο) is expressed.

ὀλιγαρχίας ἔσσεσθαι· ἡγωνίζετο οὖν εἰς ἕκαστος αὐτὸς πρῶτος προστάτης τοῦ δήμου γενέσθαι.

XC. Οἱ δὲ τῶν τετρακοσίων μάλιστα ἐναντίοι ὄντες τῷ τοιοῦτῳ εἶδει καὶ προεστῶτες, Φρύνιχός τε, ὃς καὶ στρατηγῆσας ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ τότε διηνέχθη, καὶ Ἀρίσταρχος, 5 ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα καὶ ἐκ πλείστου ἐναντίος τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ Πείσανδρος καὶ Ἀντιφῶν καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ δυνατώτατοι, πρότερόν τε, ἐπεὶ τάχιστα κατέστησαν καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὰ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ σφῶν ἐς δημοκρατίαν ἀπέστη, πρέσβεις τε ἀπέστελλον [σφῶν] ἐς τὴν 10 Λακεδαίμονα καὶ τὴν ὁμολογίαν προυνθυμούντο καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ Ἡτιωνείᾳ καλουμένην τείχος ἐποιοῦντο, πολλῶ τε μᾶλλον ἔτι, ἐπειδὴ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Σάμου πρέσβεις σφῶν ἦλθον, ὀρώντες τοὺς τε πολλοὺς καὶ σφῶν τοὺς δοκοῦντας πρότερον πιστοὺς εἶναι 2 μεταβαλλομένους. καὶ ἀπέστειλαν μὲν Ἀντιφῶντα καὶ Φρύνιχον καὶ ἄλλους δέκα κατὰ τάχος, φοβούμενοι καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ ἐκ 15

5. ἐν τῇ σάμῳ ποτὲ ABEFGM.

9. Herw. strikes out σφῶν. It seems unlikely that both it and σφῶν in the preceding line are genuine.

10. ὀλιγαρχίαν for ὁμολογίαν AC etc.

11. M has ἡτιωνία all through. AEF have ἡτιωνία.

τὸ τείχος E.

12. καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ B.

15. ἐκ σάμῳ B.

2. προστάτης τοῦ δήμου] This was a recognised but not an official title, and carried with it no specified duties or responsibilities. It denotes the leading demagogue for the time being who stood to the Demos much in the relation of the ordinary προστάτης to the μέτοικος. When the προστάτης τοῦ δήμου was also στρατηγός, as Pericles and Cleon, his position was much more important. The προστασία τοῦ δήμου is mentioned in ii, 65, 11, and vi, 89, 4, and there are frequent allusions to it in Aristophanes. cp. *Peace* 683-4. *Frogs* 569.

3. τῷ τοιοῦτῳ εἶδει] 'such a policy': viz. that of making the government more popular. cp. vi, 77, 2.

5. τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ τότε διηνέχθη] v. cc. 48, 50. ποτὲ after ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ (v. crit. note) is not wanted in itself, and is unpleasantly close to τότε. Possibly Thuc. may have written πρὸς τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην. cp. Lysias, *Or.* xviii, § 17. Aristarchus was στρατηγός; v. c. 98, where his subsequent proceedings are

related.—ἐν τοῖς...ἐναντίος: μάλιστα καὶ ἐκ πλείστου ἐναντίος go together, and practically form one superlative, so that the phrase is exactly parallel to ἐν τοῖς πρῶτος. cp. c. 89, 2.

8. ἐπεὶ τάχιστα κατέστησαν] 'as soon as they were established in power'; cp. vi, 55, 3 αὐτὸς δὲ [Ἰππίας] αὐθημερὸν καθίστατο.—καὶ ἐπειδὴ: 'and again when etc.' Both embassies are mentioned; v. c. 71, 3. 86, 9.—σφῶν ἐς δημοκρατίαν ἀπέστη: 'broke away from them towards democracy'. ἀφίστασθαι strictly in the sense of 'revolting' takes πρὸς in Thuc. even in such a phrase as iii, 46, 5 πρὸς αὐτονομίαν ἀποστάντα. But here the notion is 'went away from them, and towards democracy' (cp. Dem. *de Cor.* p. 328, § 380 ἀποστὰς...τῆς πολιτείας).

10. τὸ ἐν τῇ Ἡτιωνείᾳ τείχος] v. map on p. 138.

12. ἦλθον] 'arrived (at Athens)'. cp. note on c. 87, 3.—καὶ σφῶν τοὺς δοκοῦντας κ.τ.λ.: i.e. Theramenes, Aristocrates, and their party; cp. c. 89, 2.



δόμησαν δὲ καὶ στοάν, ἥπερ ἦν μεγίστη καὶ ἐγγύτατα τούτου εὐθὺς ἔχομένη ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ, καὶ ἥρχον αὐτοὶ αὐτῆς, ἐς ἣν καὶ τὸν σῖτον ἡνάγκαζον πάντας τὸν ὑπάρχοντά τε καὶ τὸν ἐσπλέοντα ἐξαιρεῖσθαι καὶ ἐντεῦθεν προαιρουντας πωλεῖν.

XCI. Ταῦτ' οὖν ἐκ πλείονός τε ὁ Θηραμένης διεθρόει καὶ 5 ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαιμόνος πρέσβεις οὐδὲν πράξαντες ἀνεχώρησαν τοῖς ξύμπασι ξυμβατικόν, φάσκων κινδυνεύσειν τὸ τεῖχος 2 τοῦτο καὶ τὴν πόλιν διαφθεῖραι. ἕμα γὰρ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἐτύγχανον Εὐβοέων ἐπικαλουμένων κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τοῦτον δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα νῆες, ὧν ἦσαν καὶ ἐκ Τάραντος καὶ 10

2. C omits ἐς ἥν. 4. ἐπιπλέοντα AC etc. 5. ἐκ πλείονος χρόνου AC etc.  
6. CE insert διεθρόουν before πρέσβεις. 10. M omits τοῦτον.

they are perfectly natural and intelligible, and it is quite unnecessary to find difficulty in the words.

1. **διικοδόμησαν δὲ κ.τ.λ.**] 'cut off with a wall', *διατείχιζειν* is similarly used Aristoph. *Knights* 818. cp. ἀπολαβόντες *διατείχισματι*, vii, 60, 2. This στοὰ *μεγίστη* seems certainly to be the μακρὰ στοὰ mentioned by Demosth. c. *Phorm.* 37. cp. Arist. *Ach.* 548, where the Scholiast says it was built by Pericles as a corn-store, and was called the ἀλφειόπωλις.

**ἐγγύτατα τούτου κ.τ.λ.**] τούτου must refer generally to τὸ τε παλαιὸν...καὶ τὸ καινὸν τὸ ἐντὸς τεῖχος. The stoa cannot be said to be 'quite close to, and in fact continuous with the new wall', but it may fairly be described as 'quite close to their fortification, in fact the point of the Piræus actually next to it'. Πειραιεύς, though it might include Eetioneia, is here clearly contrasted with it.

3. τὸν ὑπάρχοντα...ἐξαιρεῖσθαι] ἐξαιρεῖσθαι 'to discharge from their ships' (cp. c. 28, 1), belongs properly to τὸν ἐσπλέοντα alone, and only goes by zeugma with τὸν ὑπάρχοντα which would naturally be governed by ἐσκομίζην or the like.—προαιρουντας: 'to take from thence what they wanted to sell'. προαιρεῖν = *promere*. cp. Aristoph. *Thesm.* 419.

cc. 91, 92. Theramenes excites the people to destroy the fort. The appearance of a Peloponnesian fleet on its way to Euboea gives colour to his accusations against the Four Hundred. Phrynichus is assassinated, riots follow, and the fort is demolished. A general demand arises for the suppression of the Four Hundred, and the establishment of the Five Thousand.

5. ἐκ πλείονος] cp. note on c. 88. ἐκ πλείονος and ἐπειδὴ κ.τ.λ. are not coupled together as equally important, but the first is only mentioned to emphasize the second, as in the phrase ἄλλως τε καὶ....The sense would be given more clearly if we had πολλῶ δὴ μᾶλλον διεθρόει (instead of διεθρόει alone) after ἐπειδὴ...ἀνεχώρησαν; cp. v, 76, 2 ἦσαν δὲ αὐτοῖς πρότερον τε ἄνδρες ἐπιτήδευοι...καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἡ μάχη ἐγεγένητο, πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἐδύναντο πείθειν κ.τ.λ.—τοῖς ξύμπασι: i.e. for the Athenian people as distinguished from the oligarchs.

8. ἕμα γὰρ...ἐτύγχανον] ἐτύγχανον belongs to ὁρμοῦσαι καὶ παρασκευαζόμενοι: καὶ before ἐκ Τάραντος answers to καὶ before Σικελικαί. The Italian ships from Tarentum with the (Epizephyrian) Locrians form one class, and the Sicilian a second. Las is on the Laconian gulf, about 3 miles S.W. of Gythium.



ἐκ Λοκρῶν Ἰταλιώτιδες καὶ Σικελικαὶ τινες, ὁρμούσαι ἤδη ἐπὶ Λακωνικῆς καὶ παρασκευαζόμεναι τὸν ἐς τὴν Εὐβοίαν πλοῦν (ἦρχε δ' αὐτῶν Ἀγησανδρίδας Ἀγησάνδρου Σπαρτιάτης). ὡς ἔφη Θηραμένης οὐκ Εὐβοίᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς τειχίζουσι τὴν Ἡετιώνειαν 5 προσπλεῖν, καὶ εἰ μὴ τις ἤδη φυλάσσεται, λήσειν διαφθαρέντας. ἦν δέ τι καὶ τοιοῦτον ἀπὸ τῶν τὴν κατηγορίαν ἐχόντων, καὶ οὐ 3 πάννυ διαβολὴ μόνον τοῦ λόγου. ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ μάλιστα μὲν ἐβούλονται ὀλιγαρχοῦμενοι ἄρχειν καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων, εἰ δὲ μὴ, τὰς τε ναῦς καὶ τὰ τεῖχη ἔχοντες αὐτονομεῖσθαι, ἐξειργόμενοι δὲ καὶ 10 τούτου μὴ οὖν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου γε αὐθις γενομένου αὐτοὶ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων μάλιστα διαφθαρῆναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐξαγαγόμενοι ἄνευ τειχῶν καὶ νεῶν ξυμβῆναι καὶ ὅπως οὖν τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἔχειν, εἰ τοῖς γε σώμασι σφῶν ἄδεια ἔσται.

XCII. Διόπερ καὶ τὸ τεῖχος τοῦτο, καὶ πυλίδας ἔχον καὶ 15 ἐσόδους καὶ ἐπεσαγωγὰς τῶν πολεμίων, ἐτείχιζόν τε προθύμως

1. καὶ Λοκρῶν B. 7. M omits πάννυ. διαβόλιμον δν ABC (later hand) EFG (G corr. has διαβολὴν μόνον). 10. τε for γε ABCEF. G omits it. 11. With the word [δ]ιαφθαρῆναι begins the short fragment of a (papyrus) Thuc. ms. given by Wessely in *Wiener Studien* vii, 116 ff. I follow Hude in denoting it by W. M and G (first hand in margin) have ὥστε ἐβούλοντο instead of ἀλλά.

4. οὐκ Εὐβοίᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ κ.τ.λ.] 'not for Euboea, but for etc.' cp. note on c. 27, 5. Εὐβοίᾳ and τοῖς τειχίζουσι are not governed directly by προσπλεῖν, but are the dative of the persons interested. προσπλεῖν rarely if ever governs a dative in Thuc. (such cases as vii, 25, 1, are very doubtful).—διαφθαρέντας: Krüg. proposes διαφθαρέντες, comparing vi, 25, 2; but Theramenes is far from identifying himself with the Athenians here.

6. ἦν δέ τι...ἐχόντων] 'The accused party gave some colour to the charge'. ἀπὸ means 'on the part of', as in the phrases τὰπὸ σοῦ, τὰπ' ἐμοῦ, common in tragedy. For κατηγορίαν ἔχειν cp. Dem. *de Cor.* p. 307, § 300 εἰ νῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις κατηγορίας ἔχω; also αἰτίαν ἔχειν iv, 114, 5.—οὐ πάννυ: πάννυ belongs strictly to the negative, so that it does not interfere with μόνον. For τοῦ λόγου cp. note on σχῆμα τοῦ λόγου, c. 89, 3.

9. αὐτονομεῖσθαι] contrasted 'with ἄρχειν καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων, and, like it, qualified by ὀλιγαρχοῦμενοι. 'To preserve bare independence with their oligarchic constitution'.—ἐξειργόμενοι: cp. ii, 13, 5 ἦν καὶ πάννυ ἐξείργωνται πάντων. —μὴ οὖν...γε. This is the negative form of the common use of ἀλλ' οὖν...γέ ('at all events') in apodosis after εἰ or ἐάν (v. L. and S. on οὖν).—ἄνευ τειχῶν καὶ νεῶν: 'surrendering the walls and the fleet'. ξυμβῆναι governs τὰ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ὅπως οὖν ἔχειν. For καὶ ὅπως οὖν cp. c. 90, 2, and note.

14. πυλίδας κ.τ.λ.] The πυλίδες and ἐσοδοὶ must have been entrances on the land side in the original wall on the north and north-west (τεῖχος means the whole fortification, not merely the new wall). The ἐπεσαγωγαὶ may include these, as well as landing places in the sea wall on the N.W. outside the harbour.

2 καὶ φθῆναι ἐβούλοντο ἐξεργασάμενοι. πρότερον μὲν οὖν κατ' ὀλίγους τε καὶ κρύφα μᾶλλον τὰ λεγόμενα ἦν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ Φρύνιχος ἦκων ἐκ τῆς ἐς Λακεδαίμονα πρεσβείας πληγείς ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς τῶν περιπόλων τινὸς ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ πληθούσῃ καὶ οὐ πολλὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ἀπελθὼν ἀπέθανε παραχρῆμα, 5 καὶ ὁ μὲν πατάξας διέφυγεν, ὁ δὲ ξυνεργός, Ἀργεῖος ἄνθρωπος, ληφθεὶς καὶ βασανιζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν τετρακοσίων οὐδενὸς ὄνομα τοῦ κελεύσαντος εἶπεν οὐδὲ ἄλλο τι ἢ ὅτι εἶδείη πολλοὺς ἀνθρώ-

1. ἐξεργασμένοι B. 5. προελθὼν for ἀπελθὼν M. Stahl conjectures ἐπελθόντος. 6. ἀπέφυγε for διέφυγε W. 7. ἐλήφθη for ληφθεὶς W. 8. κελεύσαντος ὀνόματος C.

1. πρότερον μὲν οὖν] This resumes the thread of the narrative after the digression which begins at c. 91, 2. Thuc. here repeats in other words the first sentence of c. 91 (κατ' ὀλίγους τε καὶ κρύφα κ.τ.λ. answers to ἐκ πλείονος τε ὁ Θηραμένης διεθρόει).

3. πληγείς ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς τῶν περιπόλων τινός] Plutarch, *Alc.* 25, gives his name as Hermon (perhaps a guess from § 5, q.v.). Lysias, *Agorat.* § 77 [p. 136], and Lycurgus, *Leocr.* § 114 [p. 164], say that Apollodorus and Thrasylbulus contrived and executed the murder. It is likely that after the restoration of the democracy many persons claimed to have done so. The περιπολοι were young men in their nineteenth year who were employed as a moveable force on garrison duty throughout Attica, and occasionally even beyond the borders. They had stations (περιπόλια) in different parts of the country. v. Gilbert *Griechische Alterthümer* i. p. 297.—For ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς the passage of Lysias above referred to.

4. ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ πληθούσῃ] 'In the market-place when it was at its fullest'. The addition of πληθούσῃ marks the time of day as roughly between 10 and 12 o'clock. The phrase περὶ πλήθουσιν ἀγορὰν is actually used of time in that sense (v. Duker, *ad loc.*) though ἐν shows

that the meaning is primarily local in this passage.—καὶ οὐ πολὺ...ἀπελθὼν: 'just as he had left the Senate House'. This particularises more exactly the spot already described as ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ. For similar instances of a participial clause coordinated with a clause of another construction cp. i, 65, i. iv, 36, 3.

6. καὶ ὁ μὲν πατάξας...ξυνιόντας] This is a parenthesis quite unconnected with the main construction. τότε δὲ refers to ἐπειδὴ ὁ Φρύνιχος κ.τ.λ., and the skeleton of the sentence is ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ Φρυν. ἀπέθανε, τότε δὲ ὁ Θηραμένης καὶ Ἀριστοκρ. ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα.

7. οὐδενὸς...τοῦ κελεύσαντος] 'gave no man's name as instigator of the deed'. τοῦ κελεύσαντος is predicative, just as in Lat. we might have '*neminem auctorem prodidit*'. The use of the article gives a certain individuality to ὁ κελεύσας (*the man* who prompted the deed). It is therefore very common to find the article inserted with future participles where a man is marked off by some special purpose or function; cp. ii, 51, 5. iv, 78, 5.—ἐς τοῦ περιπολάρχου: sc. οὐκίαν. Demosth. (e.g. *Conon* § 7) also uses τὰ with the gen. in the sense of a man's 'premises' or 'house'. cp. Aristoph. *Wasps*, 1440 παράτρεχ' ἐς τὰ Πιττῶλου. The περιπόλαρχος is no doubt the Hermon mentioned in § 5.

πους καὶ ἐς τοῦ περιπολάρχου καὶ ἄλλοσε κατ' οἰκίας ξυνιόντας·  
 τότε δὴ οὐδενὸς γεγενημένου ἀπ' αὐτοῦ νεωτέρου καὶ ὁ Θηραμένης  
 ἤδη θρασύτερον καὶ Ἀριστοκράτης καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τῶν τετρακοσίων  
 αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν ἦσαν ὁμογνώμονες ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα.  
 5 ἅμα γὰρ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Λᾶς αἱ νῆες ἦδη περιπεπλευκῦναι καὶ 3  
 ὀρμιάμεναι ἐς τὴν Ἐπίδαυρον τὴν Αἰγίαν κατεδεδραμήκεσαν·  
 καὶ οὐκ ἔφη ὁ Θηραμένης εἰκὸς εἶναι ἐπ' Εὐβοίαν πλεούσας  
 αὐτὰς ἐς Αἰγίαν κατακολπίσαι καὶ πάλιν ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ ὀρμεῖν,  
 εἰ μὴ παρακληθεῖσαι ἤκοιεν ἐφ' οἷσπερ καὶ αὐτὸς αἰὲ κατηγόρει·  
 10 οὐκέτι οὖν οἷόν τε εἶναι ἡσυχάζειν. τέλος δὲ πολλῶν καὶ στασιω- 4  
 τικῶν λόγων καὶ ὑποψιῶν προσγενομένων καὶ ἔργῳ ἦδη ἤπτοντο  
 τῶν πραγμάτων· οἱ γὰρ ἐν τῷ Πειραιεὶ τὸ τῆς Ἡετιωνείας τείχος  
 ὀπλίται οἰκοδομοῦντες, ἐν οἷς καὶ ὁ Ἀριστοκράτης ἦν ταξιαρχῶν  
 καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φυλὴν ἔχων, ξυλλαμβάνουσιν Ἀλεξικλέα, στρα-  
 15 τηγὸν ὄντα ἐκ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς τοὺς ἐταίρους 5  
 τετραμμένον, καὶ ἐς οἰκίαν ἀγαγόντες εἰρξαν. ξυνεπελάβοντο δὲ 5  
 αὐτοῖς ἅμα καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ Ἑρμῶν τῶν περιπόλων τις τῶν Μουνυ-

6. ὀρμιάμενοι CEF G.  
 ρους CGW.

14. φυλακὴν for φυλὴν all except C.  
 17. τις τῶν περιπόλων B (περιπόλων F).

15. ἐτέ-

2. ἀπ' αὐτοῦ] 'as a result of this' (i.e. of the whole affair). αὐτοῦ is neuter; cp. c. 92, 2, and iv, 30, 2 ἀπὸ τούτου. Theramenes and his friends argued that as the extreme oligarchs had made no decisive move they felt themselves too weak to do so. οὐδενὸς γεγενημένου νεωτέρου is the passive of οὐδὲν νεωτερίζοντων αὐτῶν (iii, 4, 4). There is a somewhat similar phrase in ii, 91, 4 γενομένου τούτου ἀπροσδοκῆτον τε καὶ παρὰ λόγον.

4. τῶν ἔξωθεν] 'outside the number of the 400'. Not a common use; but cp. Soph. *Ani.* 660 τοὺς ἔξω γένους.—ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα: cp. c. 92, 11 εἶναι ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα. ii, 36, 4 εἰμι καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν τῶνδε ἔκαιον, also the phrase ἔργῳ ἀπτεσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων § 4.

6. ὀρμιάμεναι] The word is often used, as Classen remarks, of a more or less prolonged occupation; cp. c. 11, 1. They made Epidaurus their head quarters and returned there after ravaging Aegina. Theramenes argues that they would never

have run into the Saronic gulf to Aegina at all, still less would they have returned from Aegina to the southern side of it, if Euboea had been their real destination.

10. στασιωτικῶν λόγων κ.τ.λ.] i.e. στασιωτικοὶ λόγοι on the part of Theramenes and his friends, ὑποψίαι on the part of the extreme oligarchs. For the plural of ὑποψία cp. i, 132, 2 ὑποψίας πολλὰς παρῆχε.

13. ταξιαρχῶν] There were 10 ταξιαρχοὶ each commanding the hoplites of his own tribe, and each responsible for keeping the muster roll of those members of his tribe who were liable for service. v. Gilbert *Griech. Alt.* i, p. 225. The phrase φυλὴ μία τῶν ὀπλιτῶν occurs vi, 98, 4.

14. στρατηγὸν ὄντα ἐκ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας] cp. c. 75, 2 τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας μάλιστα, and note *ad loc.*—πρὸς τοὺς ἐταίρους τετραμμένον: i.e. he had devoted himself (given his attention) to organising the ἐταῖροι. cp. ii, 40, 2 πρὸς ἔργα τετραμμένοις.

χίαςι τεταγμένων ἄρχων· τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, τῶν ὀπλιτῶν τὸ στίφος  
 6 ταῦτα ἐβούλετο. ὥς δὲ ἐσηγγέλθη τοῖς τετρακοσίοις (ἐτυχον δὲ  
 ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ξυγκαθήμενοι), εὐθύς, πλὴν ὅσοις μὴ βουλομέ-  
 νοις ταῦτα ἦν, ἐτοῖμοι ἦσαν ἐς τὰ ὅπλα ἵεναι καὶ τῷ Θηραμένει  
 καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἠπειλουν. ὁ δὲ ἀπολογούμενος ἐτοῖμος ἔφη 5  
 εἶναι ξυναφαιρησόμενος ἵεναι ἤδη. καὶ παραλαβὼν ἓνα τῶν  
 στρατηγῶν ὃς ἦν αὐτῷ ὁμογνώμων ἐχώρει ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ·  
 7 ἐβοήθει δὲ καὶ Ἀρίσταρχος καὶ τῶν ἱππέων νεανίσκοι. ἦν δὲ  
 θόρυβος πολλὸς καὶ ἐκπληκτικός· οἳ τε γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἄστει ἤδη  
 ᾤοντο τὸν τε Πειραιᾶ κατειληφθαι καὶ τὸν ξυνηλημμένον τεθνάναι, 10  
 οἳ τε ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως ὅσον οὐπω ἐπὶ σφᾶς  
 8 παρῆναι. μόλις δὲ τῶν τε πρεσβυτέρων διακωλύοντων τοὺς ἐν  
 τῷ ἄστει διαθέοντας καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα φερομένους, καὶ Θουκυδίδου  
 τοῦ Φαρσαλίου τοῦ προξένου τῆς πόλεως παρόντος καὶ προθύμως  
 ἐμποδῶν τε ἐκάστοις γιγνομένου καὶ ἐπιβοωμένου μὴ ἐφεδρεύντων 15

1. τεταγμένων BM. πλῆθος for στίφος B. 2. ταῦτα MSS. ταῦτά Steph.  
 5. εἶναι ἔφη M. 7. στρατηγῶν ὅστις AC etc. (W agrees with B). 12.  
 ABEFM omit τε.

1. τὸ στίφος] This is clearly the genuine reading, πλῆθος being a gloss. Aristophanes uses στίφος in the same sense. cp. also Herod. ix, 57. Xen. *Anab.* i, 8, 13.

3. ξυγκαθήμενοι] Not merely 'assembled', though it often has that meaning, but with some emphasis on the ξύν, 'they were all (extreme oligarchs and dissentients alike) assembled together'. cp. v, 55, 1, where ξυγκαθῆσθαι is opposed to ἀντιτετάχθαι.

πλὴν ὅσοις...ἦν] cp. ii, 3, 2. iv, 80, 2. 85, 4. ταῦτα refers generally to the violent conduct of the oligarchs.—ἐς τὰ ὅπλα ἵεναι: The arms were piled in readiness in the open spaces in the city; cp. note on c. 69, 1. Their object was not to arm themselves, but to prevent mischief and keep the citizens in hand when they ran to their arms as they were sure to do at the first signs of revolution. This may explain the use of ἐς (in local sense) instead of the usual ἐπὶ (cp. § 8).

6. ξυναφαιρησόμενος] 'to help in rescuing' Alexicles. The ἱππέων νεανίσκοι mentioned below are no doubt the same that assisted at the original usurpation of the Four Hundred, c. 69, 4.

9. θόρυβος...ἐκπληκτικός] cp. c. 10, 1 θόρυβος ἐγένετο πολλὸς καὶ ἀτακτος.—τὸν ξυνηλημμένον: viz. Alexicles, v. § 4.

11. ὅσον οὐπω] cp. iv, 125, 1. vi, 34, 8.

13. Θουκυδίδου τοῦ Φαρσαλίου] v. Marcellinus' life of Thuc. § 28. For the friendly relations between Athens and the Pharsalians v. iv, 78, 2 ff.

15. ἐμποδῶν γιγνομένου καὶ ἐπιβοωμένου] The two participles, taken closely together, almost form one idea, but it is ἐμποδῶν rather than ἐπιβοωμένου which governs μὴ ἀπολέσαι. Thuc. has ἐπιβοῶν followed by the infin. (iv, 28, 3), but not ἐπιβοῶσθαι. A somewhat similar phrase occurs in c. 75, 1 κωλυθέντες τε καὶ διδασκέντες μὴ...ἀπολέσωσι τὰ πράγματα (where μὴ ἀπολέσωσι strictly depends upon κωλυθέντες).

ἐγγὺς τῶν πολεμίων ἀπολέσαι τὴν πατρίδα, ἡσύχασάν τε καὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀπέσχοντο. καὶ ὁ μὲν Θηραμένης ἐλθὼν ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ 9 (ἦν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς στρατηγός), ὅσον καὶ ἀπὸ βοῆς ἔνεκα, ὠργίζετο τοῖς ὀπλίταις· ὁ δὲ Ἀρίσταρχος καὶ οἱ ἐναντίοι τῷ πλήθει

1. *ἐτι* for *ἐγγὺς* AB EF. 4. The MSS give *πλήθει* as in the text. The scholiast says *γράφεται τῷ ἀλήθει ἐχάλεπαινον*, which is adopted by most edd., and Valla translates '*re vera*,' but *v.* note.

1. *ἐφεδρεύοντων ἐγγὺς τῶν πολεμίων*] cp. iv, 71, 1 *μὴ ἡ πόλις ἐν μάχῃ καθ' αὐτὴν οἷσα ἐγγὺς ἐφεδρεύοντων Ἀθηναίων ἀπόλῃται*. Dr Rutherford there explains *ἐφεδρεύοντων* to mean 'sitting as *ἐφεδρος* ready to fight the conqueror' (cp. also note on c. 46, 2), and if we were only concerned with the passage in Bk iv, that explanation might seem convincing. Unfortunately both passages must hang together, and in the present case the struggle between the original two combatants is not so prominent in the immediate context as naturally to suggest the idea of an *ἐφεδρος*. If Thucydides really had the metaphor of an *ἐφεδρος* in his mind he could hardly have failed to substitute some such phrase as *κατ' ἀλλήλους στασιάζειν* for the colourless *ἀπολέσαι τὴν πατρίδα*. And it is particularly necessary that the context should distinctly lead up to the metaphor if it is really intended, as the more usual sense of *ἐφεδρεύειν* 'to lie in wait for' (*v.* L. and S.) will perfectly well suit the present passage, and would naturally occur to the reader. Moreover the addition of *ἐγγὺς* (in iv, 71, 1, and probably here also) seems decisive as to the sense in which *ἐφεδρεύειν* is to be understood. To suppose that *ἐγγὺς* can add force to the attitude of the *ἐφεδρος* would be a mere confusion of ideas, while on the other hand it forcibly emphasises the danger from the enemy 'watching their opportunity close by'.—*σφῶν αὐτῶν*: used for *ἀλλήλων*; cp. i, 23, 2. vi, 77, 1.

3. *ὅσον καὶ ἀπὸ βοῆς ἔνεκα*] This is a pleonastic combination of the two phrases *ὅσον ἀπὸ βοῆς*, and *ὅσον βοῆς*

*ἔνεκα*. Thucydides more often uses *ὅσα* than *ὅσον* in this restrictive sense before prepositions (cp. vii, 11, 4. viii, 46, 5), but vii, 23, 4 is a somewhat similar use of the singular. *ἀπὸ βοῆς*, 'by shouting', may be compared with *ἀπὸ γλώσσης*, 'by word of mouth' (vii, 10). The use of *ἔνεκα*, 'as far as concerns...', though common in Plato and Xenophon, does not seem to occur elsewhere in Thuc., a fact which makes it suspicious in this passage. Xenophon has *ὅσον ἀπὸ βοῆς ἔνεκεν*, *Hell.* ii, 4, 31, and pleonastic combinations such as *τίσος χάριν ἔνεκα* (Plat. *Laws*, 701, D), and *ἀμφὶ σοῦνεκα* (Soph. *Phil.* 554), are fairly frequent. Bloomfield quotes *ὅσον ἀπὸ βοῆς* from Dio Cass. xl, 62, 2, and li, 9, 6.

4. *τῷ πλήθει*] The reading given by the Scholiast, *τῷ ἀληθεί*, is adopted by some editors on the ground that an antithesis is needed to *ὅσον ἀπὸ βοῆς ἔνεκα*. But (1) *τῷ ἀληθεί* in the sense of '*re vera*' is not used by Thucydides, who only has *τῇ ἀληθείᾳ* (iv, 120, 3), and *τὸ ἀληθές* (vi, 33, 2), (2) *οἱ ἐναντίοι* can hardly stand by itself for 'political opponents', though it constantly means 'the enemy'. On the other hand *ἐναντία τῷ πλήθει* is a natural and appropriate phrase; cp. c. 90, 1 *ἐναντίος τῷ δήμῳ*. As to the supposed need of an antithesis, it is hardly necessary to mention that Aristarchus and his friends were 'really' annoyed by the revolution which promised to turn them out. Stahl makes *ἐχάλεπαινον* govern *τῷ ἀληθεί*, and translates '*rei veritatem aegre ferebani*', comparing Plat. *Rep.* 480, a passage which,

- 10 ἐχάλεπαινον. οἱ δὲ ὀπλῖται ὁμόσε τε ἐχάουρον οἱ πλείστοι τῷ ἔργῳ καὶ οὐ μετεμέλοντο, καὶ τὸν Θηραμένην ἡρώτων εἰ δοκεῖ αὐτῷ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τὸ τεῖχος οἰκοδομεῖσθαι, καὶ εἰ ἄμεινον εἶναι καθαιρεθῆναι. ὁ δέ, εἰπερ καὶ ἐκείνους δοκεῖ καθαιρεῖν, καὶ ἑαυτῷ ἔφη ξυνδοκεῖν. καὶ ἐντεῦθεν εὐθὺς ἀναβάντες οἳ τε ὀπλῖται καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ 5
- 11 Πειραιῶς ἀνθρώπων κατέσκαπτον τὸ τεῖχισμα. ἦν δὲ πρὸς τὸν ὄχλον ἡ παράκλησις ὡς χρή, ὅστις τοὺς πεντακισχιλίους βούλεται ἄρχειν ἀντὶ τῶν τετρακοσίων, ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον. ἐπεκρύπτοντο γὰρ ὅμως ἔτι τῶν πεντακισχιλίων τῷ ὀνόματι, μὴ ἄντικρυς δῆμον ὅστις βούλεται ἄρχειν ὀνομάζειν, φοβούμενοι μὴ τῷ ὄντι ὥσι καὶ 10 πρὸς τινα εἰπὼν τίς τι ἀγνοίᾳ σφαλῇ. καὶ οἱ τετρακόσιοι διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἤθελον τοὺς πεντακισχιλίους οὔτε εἶναι οὔτε μὴ ὄντας δῆλους εἶναι, τὸ μὲν καταστήσαι μετόχους τοσοούτους ἄντικρυς [ἀν] δῆμον ἡγούμενοι, τὸ δ' αὖ ἀφανὲς φόβον ἐς ἀλλήλους παρέξεν.

2. After εἰ C leaves a gap sufficient for two letters. after πολλοί, omitting τῶν...τεῖχισμα.

4. M has ξυνδοκεῖν  
10. εἰσι for ὥσι AEFM.

though the verbal resemblance is exact, belongs to a different order of ideas.

1. ὁμόσε τε ἐχάουρον...τῷ ἔργῳ] The phrase occurs ii, 62, 3. iv, 10, 1. vi, 101, 5, but always with a personal object. The present use is really metaphorical, just as our phrase 'to grapple with', primarily applied to persons, may be extended metaphorically to any arduous undertaking which is regarded as a resolute opponent to be overcome.

3. εἰ...καθαίρεθ' ἢ] i.e. εἰ δοκεῖ ἄμεινον εἶναι καθαιρεθῆναι. But δοκεῖν referring to a future possibility should be followed either by the fut. infin. or by aor. (or pres.) with ἄν. The apparent exceptions to this are discussed by Madvig (*Adv.* i, 182), and shown to carry very little weight. Perhaps the best of them is Eur. *Orestes* 1527. Even if we admit however that the expression as it stands is possible, it is to be noticed that ἄμεινον εἶναι δοκεῖ is regularly used impersonally in Thuc. and followed by an infinitive. cp. i, 91, 5, 6. v, 43, 2. 47, 12. vi, 34, 2. 99, 2. These instances, which might be supplemented, lead one strongly to sus-

pect that Thuc. here following his usual practice wrote 'καθαίρεθ' ἢ'. 'Whether he thinks it better that the fort should be destroyed'.

5. ἀναβάντες] 'mounting the 'wall'; cp. ii, 4, 4 ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀναβάντες. They would thus be better able to demolish it.

7. παράκλησις ὡς χρή] cp. c. 76, 3 παρανέσεις...ὡς οὐ δεῖ ἀθυμεῖν. But παρακλεις is commoner in this sense.

8. ἐπεκρύπτοντο κ.τ.λ.] 'For even yet they disguised their intentions by speaking of the Five Thousand, to avoid saying right out "whoever is for the democracy"'. cp. ii, 53, 1 ἃ πρότερον ἀπεκρύπτετο μὴ καθ' ἡδονὴν ποιεῖν. There is a similar use of ἐπικρύπτεσθαι in Plato, *Crat.* 404 C ἴσως δὲ μετεωρολογῶν ὁ νομοθέτης τὸν ἀέρα "Ἐρᾶν ὀνόμασεν ἐπικρυπτόμενος.—μὴ τῷ ὄντι ὥσι: sc. οἱ πεντακισχιλιοι. They feared that if the Five Thousand were an actually existing body, a man might speak ill of them to their face without knowing it.

13. ἄντικρυς [ἀν] δῆμον] ἄν can only belong to εἶναι which must be understood.. But Thucydides' practice in similar cases

XCIII. Τῇ δ' ὕστεραία οἱ μὲν τετρακόσιοι ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον  
 ὄμωσ καὶ τεθορυβημένοι ξυνελέγοντο· οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ Πειραιεὶ ὀπλῖται  
 τὸν τε Ἀλεξικλέα δν ξυνέλαβον ἀφέντες καὶ τὸ τείχος καθε-  
 λόντες, ἐς τὸ πρὸς τῇ Μουνυχίᾳ Διονυσιακὸν θέατρον ἐλθόντες καὶ  
 5 θέμενοι τὰ ὅπλα ἐξεκκλησίασαν, καὶ δόξαν αὐτοῖς εὐθὺς ἐχώρουν ἐς  
 τὸ ἄστυ καὶ ἔθεντο ἐν τῷ Ἀνακείῳ τὰ ὅπλα. ἐλθόντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν 2  
 τετρακοσίων τινὲς ἡρημένοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὶ διελέγοντό τε  
 καὶ ἔπειθον οὓς ἴδοιεν ἀνθρώπους ἐπεικεῖς αὐτοὺς τε ἡσυχάζειν  
 καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παρακτέχειν, λέγοντες τοὺς τε πεντακισχιλίου

4. After Διονυσιακὸν ABEFM and marg. G add τὸ ἐν τῷ πειραιεὶ.  
 κλησίασαν MSS. (EGM have ἐξεκκλησίασαν τε.) v. note.

5. ἐξεκ-

is to omit δν also where εἶναι itself is omitted; cp. c. 81, 1. Moreover in the instances where δν stands without a verb, it almost invariably happens that some part of the verb to be supplied occurs in the immediate context; cp. iv, 118, 5. If the sense would here allow of καταστήσαι being supplied, there would be no difficulty. But it will not; and I have therefore followed Stahl in bracketing δν.

cc. 98—96. Both parties agree to summon an assembly for a fixed day, to discuss their points of difference. On that day the Peloponnesian fleet appears off Salamis, and the Athenians, suspecting treason, hastily put to sea against it. The Peloponnesians sail towards Euboea, and the Athenians following them are defeated near Eretria. Euboea (except Oreus and Histiaeia) revolts.

2. ὄμωσ καὶ τεθορυβημένοι] καὶ (i.e. καίτερ) τεθορυβημένοι ὄμωσ ξυνελέγοντο. cp. i, 10, 3 ὄμωσ δὲ φαίνεται, καὶ οὕτως, ἐνδεεστέρα.

4. τὸ...Διονυσιακὸν θέατρον] This was on the W. slope of the citadel of Munychia, about two thirds of a mile E. by S. of the nearest point of the new fortification, i.e. the end of the Macra Stoa. It was the only theatre in the Piraeus, and extraordinary assemblies were sometimes held there. The words

τὸ ἐν τῷ Πειραιεὶ (v. crit. note) cannot be genuine after τὸ πρὸς τῇ Μουνυχίᾳ.—  
 θέμενοι τὰ ὅπλα: v. note on c. 25, 4.

5. ἐξεκκλησίασαν] The word ἐξεκκλησιάζω, which seems implied by the reading of the MSS., is a meaningless compound, and occurs, if at all, only in Aristot. *Oec.* ii, 13, and in Josephus. On the other hand ἐξεκκλησίασα (from ἐκκλησιάζω, with augment after the preposition) is certainly found in later Greek, and may perhaps be genuine here, though the instances of it in good writers are few. Demosthenes generally augments with η, but the MSS. give ἐξεκκλησίασαν *Mid.* p. 577. The examples quoted from Lysias are of no value, owing to the quality of the MSS. upon which they depend. The only other authority is Xenophon *Hell.* v, 3, 16 (where however Dindorf gives ἡκκλησίαζον), so that it is possible that in good Attic the augment after the preposition should altogether be disallowed.

6. ἐν τῷ Ἀνακείῳ] The temple of the Dioscuri (*ἄνακες*), on the N. side of the Acropolis; v. Paus. i, 18, 2. Their arms were 'piled' in the precinct.

8. ἔπειθον] 'tried to persuade'.—  
 παρακτέχειν: *παρά* seems here to have the force which it has in *παραιτίσθαι*, *παραιθεῖν*, etc., viz. that of 'turning' or 'diverting' a purpose.

ἀποφανεῖν, καὶ ἐκ τούτων ἐν μέρει ἢ ἂν τοῖς πεντακισχιλίοις δοκῇ τοὺς τετρακοσίους ἔσεσθαι, τέως δὲ τὴν πόλιν μηδεὶν τρόπῳ διαφθεῖρειν μηδ' ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀνῶσαι. τὸ δὲ πᾶν πλῆθος τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, ἀπὸ πολλῶν καὶ πρὸς πολλοὺς λόγων γιγνομένων, ἡπιώτερον ἦν ἢ πρότερον, καὶ ἐφοβεῖτο μάλιστα περὶ τοῦ παντὸς 5 [πολιτικοῦ]. ξυνεχώρησάν τε ὥστ' ἐς ἡμέραν ῥητὴν ἐκκλησίαν ποιῆσαι ἐν τῷ Διονυσίῳ περὶ ὁμονοίας.

XCIV. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐπῆλθεν ἡ [ἐν Διονύσῳ] ἐκκλησία καὶ ὅσον οὐ ξυνειλεγμένοι ἦσαν, ἀγγέλλονται αἱ δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα νῆες καὶ ὁ Ἀγησανδρίδας ἀπὸ τῶν Μεγάρων τὴν Σαλαμίνα παρα- 10 πλεῖν· καὶ πᾶς τις [τῶν πολλῶν ὀπλιτῶν] αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐνόμιζεν

2. B omits τέως and has τὴν δὲ. 5. περὶ παντὸς τοῦ πολ. M. v. note.  
7. τοῦ διονύσου C. 8. συνῆλθεν GM. ἐν διονύσῳ ἢ ἐκκλ. M. ἐν διονυσίῳ γρ. G. διονύσω AE. διονυσίῳ F. τῷ διονυσίῳ B. τοῦ διονύσου C. The variation makes it almost certain that ἐν Διονύσῳ is an insertion. v. note. 11. B omits ὀπλιτῶν, though it is given in the margin. v. note.

1. ἐκ τούτων...ἔσεσθαι] cp. c. 86, 3 τῶν τε πεντακισχιλίων ὅτι πάντες ἐν τῷ μέρει μεθέξουσιν, and note *ad loc.*—ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀνῶσαι: 'to drive into the arms of the enemy'. A veiled threat of calling in the Lacedaemonians.

5. περὶ τοῦ παντὸς [πολιτικοῦ]] The phrase is a curious one, and in this context could only mean 'the common weal'. I can find no parallel. τὸ πολιτικόν in Herod. vii, 103, means οἱ πολῖται, and Xenophon uses the words in the same sense. The Scholiast explains ἡγουν περὶ τῆς πάσης πολιτείας, but a little consideration will show that both πολιτικόν and πολιτεία are singularly inappropriate words here, for the leading idea is exactly the same as in c. 53, 3 καὶ μὴ περὶ πολιτείας τὸ πλέον βουλευόμεν...ἢ περὶ σωτηρίας. In fact πολιτικοῦ appears to me so unnatural as part of the text, and so natural as a marginal explanation of τοῦ παντὸς, that I have thought it best to bracket it. For φοβεῖσθαι περὶ τοῦ παντὸς cp. c. 79, 2 διακινδυνεύσαι περὶ τοῦ παντός.

7. ἐν τῷ Διονυσίῳ] The great theatre on the S. E. slope of the Acropolis. In

later times it was frequently the place of assembly, and in some cases this was provided for by law. cp. Dem. *Mid.* p. 517.

8. ἐπῆλθεν ἡ...ἐκκλησία] Stahl brackets ἡ ἐν Δ. ἐκκλησία on the grounds that (1) ἡμέρα not ἐκκλησία is the proper subject to ἐπῆλθεν, (2) the variations of the MSS. point to the words being a marginal note. The first objection does not carry much force; cp. i, 126, 5 ἐπειδὴ ἐπῆλθον Ὀλύμπια. Moreover ἐπῆλθεν ἡ ἐκκλησία is at all events not more harsh than ἐπῆλθεν by itself with ἡ ἡμέρα to be understood. The second argument (as will be seen from the critical note) applies to the words ἐν Διονύσῳ alone. These I have accordingly bracketed.

9. ἀγγέλλονται...παραπλεῖν] In the personal construction ἀγγελλεσθαι is generally followed by a participle: cp. iii, 16, 2. viii, 79, 5; but the infin. (as here) occurs in iv, 25, 7. The ships had apparently crossed over from Epidaurus to Megara, and were now coasting round Salamis to threaten the Piræus.

11. πᾶς τις κ.τ.λ.] Stahl seems right in supposing that τῶν πολλῶν and τῶν ὀπλιτῶν were two separate explanations



εἶναι τὸ πάλαι λεγόμενον ὑπὸ Θηραμένους καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ, ὡς  
 ἐς τὸ τεῖχοςμα ἔπλεον αἱ νῆες, καὶ χρησίμως ἐδόκει καταπεπτω-  
 κέναι. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησανδρίδας τάχα μὲν τι καὶ ἀπὸ ξυγκειμένου 2  
 λόγου περὶ τε τὴν Ἐπίδαυρον καὶ ταύτῃ ἀνεστρέφετο, εἰκὸς δ'  
 5 αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸς τὸν παρόντα στασιασμὸν τῶν Ἀθηναίων, δι'  
 ἐλπίδος ὡς καὶ ἐς δέον παραγένοιτο, ταύτῃ ἀνέχειν. οἱ δ' οὖν 3  
 Ἀθηναῖοι, ὡς ἡγγέλθη αὐτοῖς, εὐθὺς δρόμῳ ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ πανδημεῖ  
 ἐχώρουν, ὡς τοῦ ἰδίου πολέμου μείζονος [ῆ] ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων οὐχ

6. οἱ δ' αὖ Ἀθηναῖοι AC etc. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι B. The emendation is Bekker's.  
 v. note. 8. B has ἡ for ῆ. But v. note.

of πᾶς τις, derived from c. 93, 3, both of which found their way into the text. For πᾶς τις by itself cp. iii, 13, 7. 93, 2. vii, 70, 3.

2. *χρησίμως ἐδόκει καταπεπτοκέναι* 'they thought the demolition of the wall a fortunate thing'. cp. iv, 63, 1 *ταῖς κωλύμασι ταύταις ἱκανῶς νομίσαντες εἰρχθῆναι*, 'thinking the hindrance of such obstacles is sufficient'.

3. *τάχα μὲν τι...ἀνεστρέφετο* This is the only instance where Thuc. uses *τάχα* of past events and therefore with the indic. Elsewhere it is always of future contingencies, and is followed by *ἂν* with the opt.; cp. i, 77, 6. 81, 1. etc.

*ἀπὸ ξυγκειμένου λόγου* ξυγκεῖσθαι in this sense is generally used impersonally (cp. iv, 23, 1. 68, 5), and the phrase *ξυνέκειτο λόγος*, which the text implies, would be unusual. The nearest parallel is c. 43, 3 *τὰς σπονδὰς...ἔφη...ξυγκεῖσθαι*. Perhaps we should read *ἀπὸ ξυγκειμένου*, like *ἀπὸ προειρημένου*, iv, 130, 5.

6. *ἐς δέον παραγένοιτο*: cp. *ἐς καιρὸν ἦλθε*, Eur. *Tro.* 739.—*οἱ δ' οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι* v. critical note. *οὖν* is needed here to resume the narrative after the parenthetical discussion of Agesandridas' motives; cp. c. 87, 6, where *δ' οὖν* resumes after a longer but precisely similar digression upon the motives of Tissaphernes.

8. *τοῦ ἰδίου πολέμου μείζονος κ.τ.λ.*

The general meaning of these words is plain. The Athenians realized that the hostile movements of Agesandridas were a far more serious matter than their own internal dissensions. It is clear therefore that *ῆ*, which gives exactly the opposite sense, must be omitted or (better) changed to *ῆδη*. The construction will then be *ὡς [πολέμου] ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, μείζονος τοῦ ἰδίου πολέμου, οὐχ ἐκὰς...ὄντος* ('a war threatened by the enemy, more formidable than their own private war'). The order of the words shows that it is the *πολέμου* belonging to *ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων* which is omitted, not that which goes with *ἰδίου*. If the latter had been the case we should have had *πολέμου τοῦ ἰδ. μείζ.* or *τοῦ ἰδ. μείζ. πολέμου*. There are however serious difficulties in the way of accepting the text as it stands. First, the construction *μείζονος τοῦ ἰδίου πολέμου* is very awkward and confusing. Secondly, the phrase *ὁ ἴδιος πόλεμος* as applied to *στάσις* is unexampled. Thirdly the insertion of *ῆ* shows that at least the original construction (whatever it may have been) was thoroughly misunderstood. I strongly suspect that the genuine text ran *ὡς πολέμου μείζονος ἦδη ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων οὐχ ἐκὰς κτλ.* The comparative *μείζονος*, though really quite natural, may have seemed to call for some explanation, and this may have led to the insertion of *τοῦ ἰδίου* in the margin.

ἐκὰς ἀλλὰ πρὸς τῷ λιμένι ὄντος. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐς τὰς παρούσας ναὺς ἐσέβαιων οἱ δὲ ἄλλας καθεῖλκον, οἱ δὲ τινες ἐπὶ τὰ τείχη καὶ τὸ στόμα τοῦ λιμένος παρεβοήθουν.

XCV. Αἱ δὲ τῶν Πελοποννησίων νῆες παραπλεύσασαι καὶ περιβαλοῦσαι Σούνιον ὁρμίζονται μεταξὺ Θορικοῦ τε καὶ Πρασιῶν, 5 ὕστερον δὲ ἀφικνούνται ἐς Ὀρωπὸν. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ κατὰ τάχος καὶ ἀξυγκροτήτοις πληρώμασιν ἀναγκασθέντες χρῆσασθαι, οἷα πόλεως τε στασιαζούσης καὶ περὶ τοῦ μεγίστου ἐν τάχει βουλόμενοι βοηθῆσαι (Εὐβοία γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀποκεκλημένης τῆς Ἀττικῆς πάντα 3 ἦν), πέμπουσι Θυμοχάρη στρατηγὸν καὶ ναὺς ἐς Ἐρέτριαν. ὧν 10 ἀφικομένων ξὺν ταῖς πρότερον ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ οὐσαις ἔξ καὶ τριάκοντα ἐγένοντο. καὶ εὐθὺς ναυμαχεῖν ἡναγκάζοντο· ὁ γὰρ Ἀγησανδρίδας ἀριστοποιησάμενος ἐκ τοῦ Ὀρωποῦ ἀνήγαγε τὰς ναὺς, ἀπέχει δὲ μάλιστα ὁ Ὀρωπὸς τῆς τῶν Ἐρετριῶν πόλεως θαλάσσης μέτρον

5. ὑπερβαλοῦσαι M. <sup>ὑπερ</sup> περιβαλοῦσαι G.  
13. ἀνήγε B. v. note.

8. βουλόμενοι ἐν τάχει AC etc.

1. τὰς παρούσας] ἐτοίμας, or some similar word, would seem more natural, but the contrast with ἄλλας καθεῖλκον was evidently not in Thucydides' mind at the moment. He was merely thinking (as in iv, 104, 5) of the ships αἱ ἐνυχον παροῦσαι. —τὸ στόμα τοῦ λιμένος: v. map p. 138. Doubtless they went out on the χῶματα.

5. μεταξὺ Θορικοῦ τε καὶ Πρασιῶν] Thoricus (remains of which exist) is on the east coast of Attica about six miles N. of Sunium. Ten miles further north still is Prasiae in Attica (to be distinguished from Πρασιαὶ τῆς Λακωνικῆς, Thuc. ii, 56, 3. Aristoph. *Peace* 242). About halfway between the two is a bay (now Dhaskalio) with fair anchorage.

6. Ὀρωπὸν] Then in the possession of the Boeotians; cp. c. 60, 1. It was at the mouth of the Asopus, opposite Eretria. v. Leake, *Northern Greece*, ii, p. 444.

7. ἀξυγκροτήτοις πληρώμασιν] cp. Xen. *Hell.* vi, 2, 12 οὐ φαῖλον ἡγούμενος εἶναι ἐπὶ συγκεκροτημένας ναὺς εἰκῇ περιπλεῦσαι. Dem. *Oi.* ii, § 17 συγκεκροτημένοι τὰ τοῦ πολέμου. For the importance

of combined practice in crews v. vii, 14, 1. viii, 46, 5.—πόλεως: without the article, as in i, 10, 2. ii, 72, 3. viii, 67, 2. This omission occurs with πόλις (especially of Athens), ἀγορά, and other common words of the same class.—περὶ τοῦ μεγίστου: cp. c. 96, 2 ἐν ᾗ ναὺς τε καὶ τὸ μέγιστον Εὐβοίαν ἀπολωλέκεσαν. iii, 42, 1 περὶ τῶν μεγίστων βουλευέσθαι.

9. Εὐβοία...πάντα ἦν] cp. Herod. vii, 156 ἧσαν οἱ πάντα αἱ Συρήκουσαι. Dem. *De Cor.* § 55 πάντ' ἐκεῖνος ἦν αὐτοῖς.

13. ἀνήγαγε] 'led them out to sea'. Either aorist or imperfect would make good sense, but B alone is not to be trusted where there is a temptation to correct to uniformity of tense.

14. θαλάσσης μέτρον ἑξήκοντα σταδίους] Strabo (ix, 2, 6) says the original Eretria was opposite Delphinium (about 2 miles from Oropus) where the channel is 60 stades in width. The Eretria of his own time was just opposite Oropus and only 40 stades from it. For θαλάσσης μέτρον cp. vi, 1, 2 [Σικελία] ἐν εἰκοσι

ἐξήκοντα σταδίου. ὥς οὖν ἐπέπλει, εὐθὺς ἐπλήρουν καὶ οἱ Ἀθη- 4  
ναῖοι τὰς ναῦς, οἰόμενοι σφίσι παρὰ ταῖς ναυσὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας  
εἶναι· οἱ δ' ἔτυχον οὐκ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀριστον ἐπισιτιζόμενοι (οὐδὲν  
γὰρ ἐπωλεῖτο ἀπὸ προνοίας τῶν Ἐρετριῶν), ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἐπ'  
5 ἔσχατα τοῦ ἀστεως οἰκίων, ὅπως σχολῇ πληρουμένων φθάσειαν οἱ  
πολέμιοι προσπεσόντες καὶ ἐξαναγκάσειαν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους οὕτως  
ὅπως τύχοιεν ἀνάγεσθαι. σημεῖον δ' αὐτοῖς ἐς τὸν Ὠρωπὸν ἐκ  
τῆς Ἐρετρίας, ὅποτε χρη ἀνάγεσθαι, ἦρθη. διὰ τοιαύτης δὴ 5  
1 παρασκευῆς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀναγαγόμενοι καὶ ναυμαχίσαντες ὑπὲρ  
10 τοῦ λιμένος τῶν Ἐρετριῶν ὀλίγον μὲν τινα χρόνον ὅμως καὶ  
ἀντέσχον, ἔπειτα ἐς φυγὴν τραπόμενοι καταδιώκονται ἐς τὴν γῆν.  
καὶ ὅσοι μὲν αὐτῶν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τῶν Ἐρετριῶν ὥς φιλίαν 6  
καταφεύγουσι, χαλεπώτατα ἔπραξαν, φονευόμενοι ὑπ' αὐτῶν· οἱ  
δὲ ἐς τὸ τείχος τὸ ἐν τῇ Ἐρετρίᾳ, ὃ εἶχον αὐτοί, περιγίγνονται

6. ἀναγκάσειαν ABFM. 8. τοιαύτην δὴ παρασκευὴν AC. τοιαύτην δεῖ  
παρασκευὴν EF. v. note. 9. ἀναγόμενοι AC etc. 13. οἱ δὲ MSS. This  
would make it necessary to take περιγίγνονται ἐς τὸ τείχος together, and destroy the  
connexion with the following and preceding words. v. note. 14. AC etc.  
have ἐπιτείχισμα.

σταδ. μάλιστα μέτρῳ τῆς θάλασσης διερ-  
γεται τὸ μὴ ἥπειρος εἶναι.

1. ἐπλήρουν] 'The Athenians (i.e. their commanders) tried to man their ships'.—τοὺς στρατιώτας: 'the crews'; cp. ii, 88, 2.

4. ἐπωλεῖτο] 'was offered for sale in the market'; cp. vii, 39, 2. For ἀπὸ προνοίας cp. ἀπὸ ξυγκειμένου λόγου, c. 94, 2.—τῶν ἐπ' ἔσχατα τοῦ ἀστ.: cp. τὰ ἐπέκεινα vi, 63, 2. τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα i, 87, 2.

5. πληρουμένων] sc. τῶν νεῶν. The omission of the substantive with a pass. part. in a gen. abs. is rare except in impersonal uses, e.g. δηλωθέντος i, 74, 1. ἀγγελθέντος vi, 58, 1.

7. σημείον...ἦρθη] cp. iv, 111, 1 ὅποτε τὸ σημεῖον ἀρθείη, and (§ 2) τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ πυρὸς ἀνέσχον. But the phrase is more often used of giving the signal for battle; cp. i, 49, 1. 63, 2 (where we have also τὰ σημεία κατεσπασθῇ).—ὅποτε χρη ἀνάγεσθαι: this goes closely with σημείον: hence the

pres. ind. after ὅποτε, of which there is no other instance in Thuc. except ii, 60, 4 (a distinct use). cp. Homer *Od.* iv, 633.

8. διὰ τοιαύτης δὲ παρασκευῆς] 'in such a state of unreadiness'; cp. iv, 8, 8 δι' ὀλίγης παρασκευῆς. The acc. however has good support, and is not impossible. παρασκευῇ would then refer to the whole stratagem of the Peloponnesians (cp. a very similar use in i, 133, 1), and the general sense would be 'though getting under weigh at a disadvantage owing to this stratagem'.

13. οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ τείχος] The construction appears to be οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ τείχος [καταφεύγουσι], περιγίγνονται, answering to ὅσοι μὲν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν καταφεύγουσι χαλεπώτατα ἔπραξαν. The reading of the MSS. οἱ δὲ (v. crit. note) seems less good (1) because μὲν and δὲ rather suggest a symmetrical antithesis between the two parties of fugitives, (2) because one would expect ἐς τὸ τείχος διασφίζονται (cp. iv,

7 καὶ ὅσαι ἐς Χαλκίδα ἀφικνούνται τῶν νεῶν. λαβόντες δὲ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι δύο καὶ εἴκοσι ναῦς τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἀνδρας τοὺς μὲν ἀποκτείναντες τοὺς δὲ ζωγρήσαντες τροπαῖον ἔστησαν. καὶ ὕστερον οὐ πολλῶ Εὐβοιάν [τε] ἄπασαν ἀποστήσαντες πλην Ὀρεοῦ (ταύτην δὲ αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι εἶχον) καὶ τὰλλα τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν 5 καθίσταντο.

XCVI. Τοῖς δ' Ἀθηναίοις ὡς ἦλθε τὰ περὶ τὴν Εὐβοίαν γεγενημένα, ἐκπληξίς μεγίστη δὴ τῶν πρὶν παρέστη. οὔτε γὰρ ἡ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ ξυμφορά, καίπερ μεγάλη τότε δόξασα εἶναι, 2 οὔτε ἄλλο οὐδέν πω οὕτως ἐφόβησεν. ὅπου γὰρ στρατοπέδου τε τοῦ ἐν Σάμῳ ἀφεστηκότος, ἄλλων τε νεῶν οὐκ οὐσῶν οὐδὲ τῶν ἐσθισομένων, αὐτῶν τε στασιαζόντων καὶ ἄδηλον ὃν ὁπότε σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ξυρράξουσιν, τοσαύτη ἡ ξυμφορά ἐπεγεγένητο, ἐν ᾗ ναῦς τε καὶ τὸ μέγιστον Εὐβοίαν ἀπολωλέκεσαν, ἐξ ἧς πλείω

1. καὶ οἱ Πελ. AEFGM. 4. οὐ πολλῶ (πολλῶν A) ὕστερον AC etc.  
9. τῇ ἐν σικ. ξυμφορᾷ B. (C also has ξυμφορᾷ.) 12. AEFM omit τε after αὐτῶν.

113, 2) rather than *περιγίγνεται* if the words were to go together, (3) because there is an awkward zeugma if *περιγίγνεται* is first to mean 'get safe to the fort' (of the men), and then 'escape' (of the ships).

4. ὕστερον οὐ πολλῶ] This order, besides being the more usual (in the reverse order Thuc. generally has οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον), is much more agreeable at the beginning of a sentence. Both τε after Εὐβοίαν and καὶ before τὰλλα seem inappropriate. Classen suggests that κατεῖχον may have fallen out after ἀποστήσαντες. Perhaps it would be simpler to read ἀπέστησαν. But failing some such correction as this the only remedy seems to be to strike out τε and translate καὶ τὰλλα 'all else too'. Oreus was an Athenian colony, founded by Pericles on the northern coast of Euboea in 446 B.C. — τὰλλα ... καθίσταντο: cp. iii, 28, 3. v, 11, 3.

c. 96. Consternation at Athens: but the Peloponnesians do not follow up their victory.

7. ὡς ἦλθε] i.e. ἡγγέλθη. cp. Demosth.

*Olynth.* iii, 6 (p. 30) ὡς ἡγγέλθη Φίλιππος ἀσθενῶν ἢ τεθνεώς· ἦλθε γὰρ ἀμφότερα. — *μεγίστη δὴ τῶν πρὶν*: for this familiar compromise between *μεγίστη πασῶν* and *μείζων τῶν πρὶν* cp. i, 1, i. vi, 13, 1. — *παρέστη*: cp. *τύχη παρισταμένη* in iii, 45, 6, and a somewhat similar usage in iv, 61, 2. 95, 2.

10. *δπου* 'whereas'; cp. c. 27, 2. It is similarly used by Herodotus and Antiphon as well as later writers.

12. *ἄδηλον ὃν ὁπότε... ξυρράξουσιν* cp. i, 2, 2, the only other instance in Thuc. of ὁπότε with the fut. indicative. *ράσσειν* and its compounds are rare. Xenophon has *συρράσσειν* (*Hell.* vii, 5, 16) in the sense in which it occurs here, and Demosth. (p. 1259, 11) uses *ράξαντες*; but that is in a speech (κατὰ Κόνωνος) which is carefully adapted to the character of the speaker who was a plain man, and no orator. — *τοσαύτη*: this is predicative, as is shown by its position.

14. *ἐξ ἧς... ἀφελούντο*] For the omission of the preposition before the second of two substantives governed by it cp. iii, 21, 3. vi, 78, 1. vii, 47, 4. It is

ἢ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὠφελούντο, πῶς οὐκ εἰκότως ἡθύμουν; μάλιστα 3  
 δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ δι' ἐγγυτάτου ἐθορύβει, εἰ οἱ πολέμιοι τολμήσουσι  
 νενικηκότες εὐθὺς σφῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἐρήμον ὄντα νεῶν πλεῖν-  
 καὶ ὅσον οὐκ ἤδη ἐνόμιζον αὐτοὺς παρεῖναι. ὅπερ ἂν, εἰ τολμη- 4  
 5 ρότεροι ἦσαν, ῥαδίως ἂν ἐποίησαν, καὶ ἡ διέστησαν ἂν ἔτι μᾶλλον  
 τὴν πόλιν ἐφορμοῦντες ἢ, εἰ ἐπολιόρκουν μένοντες, καὶ τὰς ἀπ'  
 Ἰωνίας ναῦς ἠνάγκασαν ἂν καίπερ πολεμίας οὐσας τῇ ὀλιγαρχία  
 τοῖς σφετέροις οἰκέλοις καὶ τῇ ξυμπάσῃ πόλει βοηθῆσαι· καὶ ἐν  
 τούτῳ Ἑλλησποντός τε ἂν ἦν αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἰωνία καὶ αἱ νῆσοι καὶ  
 10 [τὰ μέχρι Εὐβοίας καὶ] ὥς εἰπείν ἡ Ἀθηναίων ἀρχὴ πᾶσα. ἀλλ' 5

3. εὐθὺς MSS. (s erased in B), εὐθὺς Class.

Bekker supplied it. C (followed by Hude) has καὶ διέστησαν ἂν ἔτι μᾶλλον τὴν πόλιν  
 εἰ ἐπολιόρκουν κ.τ.λ.

10. μέχρι βοιωτίας B. v. note.

most common where the two substantives are compared (as here), or contrasted (as in iii, 21, 3). But there are exceptions.

1. πῶς οὐκ εἰκότως ἡθύμουν] This is a convenient way of marking the apodosis emphatically after a long and rambling protasis. cp. iii, 66, 2 πῶς οὐ δεινὰ ἐργασθε; In both these cases the word which comes immediately after πῶς οὐ, though not most important in the structure of the sentence, is so emphasized by position as to have the effect of a predicative, as though the words ran πῶς οὐκ εἶδος ἦν ἀθυμεῖν; and πῶς οὐ δεινὰ ἦν τὰ ἐργασμένα;

2. δι' ἐγγυτάτου] The words are not metaphorical, but refer to the actual proximity of the enemy in Euboea. cp. ii, 89, 9 δι' ὀλίγου τῆς ἐφορμήσεως οὐσης.

3. εὐθὺς...πλεῖν] Stahl follows Arnold in reading εὐθὺς and joining σφῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, on the analogy of τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐς Ἑλευσίνα (i, 114, 2), and similar phrases. This is awkward in itself, and if εὐθὺς is to be understood in a temporal sense and detached from σφῶν, the latter word finds itself in too emphatic a position. There is no point in saying that 'the Athenians feared the Lac. would attack them'. There was no novelty in that fear. The new danger was that they would 'make straight for them' (εὐθὺς σφῶν πλεῖν).

There seems no reason why εὐθὺς should not be joined with persons (a possibility which Stahl doubts): cp. Aristoph. *Peace* 68 εὐθὺς τοῦ Διός.

4. ὅπερ ἂν...ἂν ἐποίησαν] cp. c. 2, 1. v. Goodwin *M. and T.* 223. Bekker seems right in supplying εἰ before ἐπολιόρκουν.

6. καὶ ἠνάγκασαν] 'They would even have compelled them', i.e. besides inflaming political strife at Athens.

8. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ] cp. ἐν ᾧ, c. 86, 4, and note *ad loc.*

10. [τὰ μέχρι Εὐβοίας]] The reading of B, *Βοιωτίας*, is pretty sure from the character of that MS. to be a conjecture. Whether it arose from a mutilated reading *βοίας* (as Stahl supposes), or from a reminiscence of c. 43, 3, or some other cause, is impossible to decide. But though τὰ μέχρι Εὐβοίας is probably the older reading, it can hardly be doubted that it is itself an insertion. Perhaps it was a marginal comment on αἱ νῆσοι, intended to imply that the Athenians would at least have kept a footing in Euboea. The four constituent parts of the Athenian empire were the Hellespont, Ionia, the islands, and τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης. The three first have already been mentioned, but even if we could twist τὰ μέχρι *Βοιωτίας* into an allusion to the

οὐκ ἐν τούτῳ μόνῳ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Ἀθηναίους πάντων δὴ ξυμφορώ-  
τατοι προσπολεμῆσαι ἐγένοντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις πολλοῖς.  
διάφοροι γὰρ πλείστον ὄντες τὸν τρόπον, οἱ μὲν ὀξεῖς οἱ δὲ  
βραδεῖς, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπιχειρηταὶ οἱ δὲ ἄτολμοι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν  
ναυτικῇ ἀρχῇ πλείστα ὠφέλουν. ἔδειξαν δὲ οἱ Συρακόσιοι· 5  
μάλιστα γὰρ ὁμοιότροποι γενόμενοι ἄριστα καὶ προσεπολέμησαν.

XCVII. Ἐπὶ δ' οὖν τοῖς ἡγγελλμένοις οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ναῦς τε

4. καὶ ναυτικῇ ἀρχῇ AC etc. 5. ἀρχῇ ναυτικῇ B. 7. ἐπεὶ δ' C. ἐπειδὴ B.

last, it would not suit the passage, for the following words, καὶ ὡς εἰπεῖν ἡ Ἀ. ἀρχὴ πᾶσα, seem to imply that the parts of the empire have not yet been exhaustively enumerated.

2. ξυμφορώτατοι προσπολεμῆσαι] cp. vii, 51, 1 χαλεπωτέροις προσπολεμῆν, also iv, 10, 3. vi, 42, 1. vii, 14, 2.

3. διάφοροι γὰρ πλείστον ὄντες κ.τ.λ.] Most editors, so far as I can discover, assume that διάφοροι refers to both Athenians and Lacedaemonians, in order to bring οἱ μὲν ὀξεῖς κ.τ.λ. into the construction. It must then be considered that διάφοροι ὄντες—ὠφέλουν is exactly equivalent to τὸ διαφόρους εἶναι—ὠφέλει. The idiom is no doubt familiar, but can such a use of it be seriously defended? It is awkward enough that one of the subjects of ὠφέλουν is also the object of it; but that becomes trifling when we consider that this object is not even expressed, and that an *active* verb of which Ἀθηναῖοι is part subject is left to suggest Ἀθηναίους as the natural persons for it to govern. On the other hand, as γὰρ shows, the words διάφοροι κ.τ.λ. are given as a reason why the Lac. were, for the Ath., πάντων δὴ ξυμφορώτατοι προσπολεμῆσαι. We naturally expect to go on without a change of subject διάφοροι γὰρ πλείστον ὄντες τὸν τρόπον—πλείστα ὠφέλουν. 'The Lac. were more unlike the Ath. than any one else, and therefore easiest for them to fight against'. We have already had Λακεδαιμόνιοι Ἀθηναῖοι in juxtaposition in the previous sentence, and if the subject Λακεδαιμόνιοι

remains unchanged there is no difficulty about supplying Ἀθηναίους as object. We must therefore regard οἱ μὲν ὀξεῖς... ἄτολμοι as a parenthesis outside the construction. Of course it is possible that the words may be a reminiscence of i, 70, 2 originally written as a note in the margin, and thence inserted into the text, but this we have no sufficient means of deciding. A somewhat similar parenthesis without any regular construction is found in c. 43, 1 (οὐδ' ἐκεῖνοι ἐπ' ἐκείνους). For the personal use of ὠφέλουν cf. vi, 33, 4 οὐθ' ὅτι μεγάλῳ στόλῳ ἐπέρχονται ἀνωφελεῖς.—πλείστον (l. 3) for μάλιστα is more common than Classen implies; cp. v, 113 πλείστον δὴ παραβεβλημένοι... πλείστον καὶ σφαλῆσθε, also i, 84, 3. iii, 83, 1. iv, 12, 3. vi, 64, 1.

5. ἔδειξαν δὲ] cp. vi, 86, 4. The same reason for the success of the Syracusans against the Athenians is given with more detail in vii, 55, 2.

cc. 97—99. Harmony restored at Athens. The Four Hundred are put down, and a moderate government (nominally of 5000) established. Alcibiades re-called: overtures to the armament at Samos. Pisander and others of the oligarchs fly to Deceleia. Aristarchus procures the betrayal of Oenoe to the Peloponnesians.

7. ἐπὶ δ' οὖν τοῖς ἡγγελλμένοις] This resumes from ὡς ἦλθε κ.τ.λ. c. 96, 1. ἐπὶ is not so strong as '*propter*' (Portus, Stahl), but gives the conditions which form a basis of action; cp. vii, 59, 2.

εἴκοσιν ὅμως ἐπλήρουν καὶ ἐκκλησίαν ξυνέλεγον, μίαν μὲν εὐθὺς τότε πρῶτον ἐς τὴν Πύκνα καλουμένην, οἵπερ καὶ ἄλλοτε εἰώθεσαν, ἐν ᾗπερ καὶ τοὺς τετρακοσίους καταπαύσαντες τοῖς πεντακισχιλίοις ἐψηφίσαντο τὰ πράγματα παραδοῦναι· εἶναι δὲ αὐτῶν ὅποσοι καὶ 5 ὅπλα παρέχονται· καὶ μισθὸν μηδένα φέρειν <ἐν> μηδεμιᾷ ἀρχῇ, εἰ δὲ μή, ἐπάρατον ἐποίησαντο. ἐγίνοντο δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι ὕστερον 2 πυκναὶ ἐκκλησίαι, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ νομοθέτας καὶ τᾶλλα ἐψηφίσαντο ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν. καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα δὴ τὸν πρῶτον χρόνον ἐπὶ γε

2. οἵπερ MSS. οἵπερ Herw. The latter suits ξυνέλεγον ἐς τὴν Πύκνα better, and the confusion of ου and οι is very frequent, cp. 55, 1. 76, 6. But οἵπερ...εἰώθεσαν may very possibly be an interpolation. 7. ἐν Πυκνῇ for πυκναὶ Wecklein cur. *origr.* 25; but v. note.

1. μίαν μὲν...πρῶτον] These words answer to ἐγίνοντο δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι, § 2. This was the first of a series: there had been no assemblies during the supremacy of the 400. The Pnyx is specially mentioned, because the last two assemblies held had been at Colonus (c. 67, 2), and in the Piræus (c. 93, 1); while one is appointed (c. 93, 3) for the theatre of Dionysus.

4. εἶναι δὲ αὐτῶν κ.τ.λ.] 'Every citizen who provided his own arms should be admitted to their number'. Theramenes supports this principle, Xen. *Hell.* ii, 3, 48. At this time there were somewhat over 9000 citizens of the hoplite census (following Beloch's estimate), so that οἱ πεντακισχιλιοι was practically the name of a class without pretending to exactitude of numbers. Cp. Lysias, *Or.* xx, § 13, where Polystratus, a member of the 400, claims to have actually drawn up a list of 9000 citizens to share in the government, though the people only voted a list of 5000.

5. μισθὸν...ἀρχῇ] cp. c. 65, 3. The MSS. reading μηδεμιᾷ ἀρχῇ is defended by Classen, but seems hardly possible. ἐν might easily fall out after φέρειν, and is a more probable correction than μηδεμιᾶς ἀρχῆς (Stahl). Thirlwall quotes Aristot. *Pol.* iii, 1, to illustrate the sense of ἀρχή here, τῶν ἀρχῶν αἱ μὲν εἰσι διηρημέναι κατὰ χρόνον...ὁ δ' ἀόριστος, οἷον ὁ δικαστής

καὶ ἐκκλησιαστής.—εἰ δὲ μή: for εἰ δὲ μή indicating the opposite to a previous *negative* statement (where we should say 'but if so', or 'otherwise') cp. i, 28, 3-ii, 5, 5.—ἐπάρατον ἐποίησαντο: Tucker points out that the middle shows ἐπάρατον to be neuter: 'counted it an accursed thing'. cp. i. 118 ἀνέσχετον ἐποιούντο, i. 102 δεινὸν ἐποιούντο.

7. πυκναὶ ἐκκλησίαι] 'assemblies in quick succession', cp. i, 23, 3. vii, 70, 4. This is in itself probable as they were reconstructing the constitution, and seems on the whole preferable to Wecklein's emendation ἐν Πυκνῇ. Stahl argues that ἄλλαι ὕστερον ἐν Πυκνῇ is required by the words of § 1 μίαν μὲν εὐθὺς τότε πρῶτον ἐς τὴν Πύκνα καλουμένην, but as stated in the note *ad loc.* the mention of the Pnyx is there sufficiently explained by what has happened before, and it is quite possible to regard ἄλλαι ὕστερον as merely contrasted with μίαν μὲν εὐθὺς.—ἀφ' ὧν: cp. c. 79, 1 δέξαν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ ξυνόδου.

νομοθέτας] The νομοθέται were a committee of the ἡλιασταί, to whom ambiguities and contradictions in the law, as well as proposed changes, were referred by the Boule. Their number appears to have varied, being sometimes as great as 1000.

8. τὸν πρῶτον χρόνον ἐπὶ γε ἐμοῦ] It is difficult to see how this can mean what the sense certainly seems to require

ἐμοῦ Ἀθηναῖοι φαίνονται εὖ πολιτεύσαντες· μετρία γὰρ ἦδε ἐς τοὺς ὀλίγους καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς ξύγκρασις ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐκ πονήρων τῶν πραγμάτων γενομένων τοῦτο πρῶτον ἀνήνεγκε τὴν πόλιν.  
 3 ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδην καὶ ἄλλους μετ' αὐτοῦ κατιέναι, καὶ παρὰ τε ἐκείνους καὶ παρὰ τὸ ἐν Σάμφ στρατόπεδον πέμψαντες 5 διεκελεύοντο ἀνθάπτεσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων.

XCVIII. Ἐν δὲ τῇ μεταβολῇ ταύτῃ εὐθὺς οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Πείσανδρον καὶ Ἀλεξικλέα καὶ ὅσοι ἦσαν τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας μάλιστα, ὑπεξέρχονται ἐς τὴν Δεκέλειαν· Ἀρίσταρχος δ' αὐτῶν μόνος (ἔτυχε γὰρ καὶ στρατηγῶν) λαβὼν κατὰ τάχος τοξότας τινὰς τοὺς βαρ- 10  
 2 βαρωτάτους ἐχώρει πρὸς τὴν Οἰνόην. ἦν δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἐν μεθορίοις τῆς Βοιωτίας τείχος, ἐπολιόρκουν δ' αὐτὸ διὰ ξυμφορὰν σφίσιν ἐκ

1. ἡ γε ἐς B. The rest ἡ τε ἐς. v. note. 2. ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς B.  
 6. διακελεύονται B. 9. B inserts εὐθὺς before ὑπεξέρχονται.

'for the first time in my experience' (so Classen, and apparently Stahl). τὸν πρῶτον χρόνον ought by all analogy to mean 'at first', and τοὺς πρώτους χρόνους actually has that sense in vii, 87, 1. This is further supported by the regular use of τὸ πρῶτον 'at first' which (with allowance for uncertainty of MSS.) seems clearly distinguished from πρῶτον 'for the first time'. There is no alternative but to construe, as Jowett, 'in its early days this government was the best which the Ath. ever enjoyed in my time'. We must conclude that later, perhaps after the return of Alcibiades, further and more democratic changes were introduced. The qualification ἐπὶ γε ἐμοῦ is perhaps intended to make an exception of Solon's constitution.

1. μετρία γὰρ ἦδε...ἐγένετο] Stahl's correction ἦδε is almost necessary, though he does not urge in its favour what seems to me its greatest recommendation, that it enables us to connect μετρία ἐς τοὺς ὀλίγους καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς, 'fair to oligarchs and democrats alike'. cp. iv, 81, 1 ἐαυτὸν παρασχὼν δίκαιον καὶ μέτριον ἐς τὰς πόλεις. The phrase ἦ ἐς τοὺς ὀλίγους...ξύγκρασις is hardly possible. For the omission of the prep. before πολλοὺς cp. c. 84,

5, note. This constitution so highly praised by Thuc. closely resembles Aristotle's πολιτεία (v. Pol. vi (iv), 8).

2. πονήρων: cp. vii, 48, 1. viii, 24, 5.

3. ἀνήνεγκε] cp. ἀνελήφει ἡ πόλις ἐαυτήν vi, 26, 2. ἀναφέρειν is often intransitive in this sense; cp. Schol. ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀνενεγκεῖν ἐποίησεν.

4. Ἀλκιβιάδην...κατιέναι] Alcibiades did not actually return to Athens till four years later, in June 408. In the spring of that year, when the Athenians elected him στρατηγός, he is spoken of by Xenophon as still an exile (Hell. i, 4, 11). This looks as if the decree was never carried out, or afterwards reversed.

8. ὅσοι ἦσαν τῆς ὀλ. μάλιστα] cp. c. 75, 2 τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας μάλιστα, and note *ad loc.* Alexicles and Aristarchus were afterwards condemned to death. v. Lycurg. *Leocr.* § 117.

9. μόνος] This refers to what follows as contrasted with ὑπεξέρχονται ('steal quietly away'). Aristarchus was the only one who took a bold line.—τοξότας: the public slaves who did police duty, elsewhere called Σκύθαι. v. Aristoph. *Ach.* 54. *Knights* 665.

12. διὰ ξυμφορὰν...διαφθορᾶς] 'a reverse they had suffered in losing some



τῆς Οἰνός γενομένην ἀνδρῶν ἐκ Δεκελείας ἀναχωρούντων διαφθο-  
 ρᾶς οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἐβελοντηδόν, προσπαρακάλεσαντες τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς.  
 κοινολογησάμενος οὖν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀρίσταρχος ἀπατᾷ τοὺς ἐν τῇ 3  
 Οἰνῇ, λέγων ὡς καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει τᾶλλα ξυμβεβήκασι Λακεδαι-  
 5 μονίοις, κἀκείνους δεῖ Βοιωτοῖς τὸ χωρίον παραδοῦναι· ἐπὶ τούτοις  
 γὰρ ξυμβεβάσθαι. οἱ δὲ πιστεύσαντες ὡς ἀνδρὶ στρατηγῷ καὶ  
 οὐκ εἰδότες οὐδὲν διὰ τὸ πολιορκεῖσθαι, ὑπόσπονδοι ἐξέρχονται.  
 τούτῳ μὲν τῷ τρόπῳ Οἰνὴν ληφθεῖσαν Βοιωτοὶ κατέλαβον, καὶ ἡ 4  
 ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις ὀλιγαρχία καὶ στάσις ἐπαύσατο.

10 XCIX. Ὅτι δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους τοῦ θέρους τούτου καὶ οἱ  
 ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῳ Πελοποννήσιοι, ὡς τροφήν τε οὐδεὶς ἐδίδου τῶν  
 ὑπὸ Τισσαφέρνους τότε ὅτε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσπενδον παρῆι προσταχ-  
 θέντων, καὶ αἱ Φοίνισσαι νῆες οὐδὲ ὁ Τισσαφέρνης τέως πού ἦκον,

2. M omits ἐβελοντηδόν.  
 ...παρῆι, perhaps rightly.

5. καὶ κἀκείνους B.  
 13. C omits τέως.

12. Hude brackets ὅτε

men etc.' Goeller compares i, 33, 1 ἡ  
 ξυντυχία τῆς ἡμετέρας χρείας. These must  
 have been the troops mentioned in c. 71,  
 3, which Agis sent home from Deceleia  
 after his unsuccessful demonstration  
 against Athens.—ἐβελοντηδόν: 'on their  
 own account', i.e. not as part of the *com-*  
*mon* operations in the war.

6. ξυμβεβάσθαι] This passive form  
 is rare, but cp. παραβεβάσθαι i, 123, 2.  
 The perf. act. is not used impersonally in  
 the sense of 'agreeing' in Thuc., though  
 ξυνεβεβήκει is. The pass. aor. has the  
 same sense in iv, 30, 4 ἕως ἂν τι...ξυμ-  
 βαθῇ.

8. τούτῳ μὲν τῷ τρόπῳ] These words  
 go primarily with ληφθεῖσαν, though their  
 effect also extends to ἡ...στάσις ἐπαύσατο.  
 —κατέλαβον: 'occupied'. It adds some-  
 thing to ληφθεῖσαν.

cc. 99—101. The Peloponnesians, dis-  
 gusted with Tissaphernes, resolve at  
 Pharnabazus' invitation to move their  
 headquarters to the Hellespont. They  
 leave Miletus and arrive at Chios. The  
 Athenians under Thrasylus also move  
 northwards, but stop at Lesbos to recover  
 Eresus.

10. οἱ ἐν τῇ Μιλ. Πελοποννήσιοι]

The intended verb is never supplied, and  
 after a long parenthesis the narrative is  
 resumed in l. 7 by the words οὕτω δὴ ὁ  
 Μίνδαρος ἐπλεῖ. In the somewhat similar  
 passage iv, 73, 4 Dr Rutherford confi-  
 dently, and perhaps rightly, assumes a  
 lacuna to explain the break in the con-  
 struction. But that explanation will  
 hardly answer here. Probably the words  
 were written as they stand, and never  
 revised. The change of subject (οἱ Πελο-  
 ποννήσιοι—ὁ Μίνδαρος) is illustrated by  
 c. 81, 1. cp. also vii, 33, 2.—τῶν προ-  
 σταχθέντων: cp. c. 87, 3; but there only  
 Tamos is mentioned.

13. αἱ Φοίν. νῆες οὐδὲ ὁ Τισσαφέρνης]  
 The negative has to cover both αἱ νῆες  
 and ὁ Τισσαφέρνης. No doubt Thuc.  
 intended to write simply αἱ Φοίν. νῆες...  
 οὐχ ἦκον, but having added οὐδὲ ὁ Τισσα-  
 φέρνης as an afterthought he considered  
 that ἦκον was thus sufficiently negated.  
 v, 47, 2 (quoted by Class.) is not a paral-  
 lel case.—τέως: 'meanwhile' i.e. 'as time  
 went on'. There is nothing to show that  
 Thuc. (like some later writers) uses τέως  
 for πω. It occurs v, 7, 1. vi, 61, 7. vii,  
 63, 3. viii, 93, 2. 106, 2.—ἐπεστάλκει:  
 cp. c. 38, 4, and note.

ὁ τε Φίλιππος ὁ ξυμπεμφθεὶς αὐτῷ ἐπεστάλκει Μινδάρῳ τῷ ναυάρχῳ καὶ ἄλλος, Ἴπποκράτης, ἀνὴρ Σπαρτιάτης καὶ ὢν ἐν Φασήλιδι, ὅτι οὔτε αἱ νῆες παρέσονται πάντα τε ἀδικοῦντο ὑπὸ Τισσαφέρνους, Φαρνάβαζος τε ἐπεκαλεῖτο αὐτοὺς καὶ ἦν πρόθυμος κομίσας τὰς ναῦς καὶ αὐτὸς τὰς λοιπὰς ἔτι πόλεις τῆς ἑαυτοῦ 5 ἀρχῆς ἀποστήσαι τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ Τισσαφέρνης, ἐλπίζων πλεόν τι σχήσειν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, οὕτω δὲ ὁ Μίνδαρος πολλῷ κόσμῳ καὶ ἀπὸ παραγγέλματος αἰφνιδίου, ὅπως λάθοι τοὺς ἐν Σάμῳ, ἄρας ἀπὸ τῆς Μιλήτου ναυσὶ τρισὶ καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔπλει ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλησποντον. πρότερον δὲ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ θέρει τῷδε 10 ἐκκαίδεκα ἐς αὐτὸν νῆες ἐσέπλευσαν, αἱ καὶ τῆς Χερσονήσου τι μέρος κατέδραμον. χειμασθεὶς δὲ ἀνέμῳ καὶ ἀναγκασθεὶς καταίρει ἐς τὴν Ἰκαρον, καὶ μέινας ἐν αὐτῇ ὑπὸ ἀπλοίας πέντε ἢ ἕξ ἡμέρας ἀφικνεῖται ἐς τὴν Χίον.

C. Ὁ δὲ Θράσυλος ἐκ τῆς Σάμου, ἐπειδὴ ἐπύθετο αὐτὸν ἐκ 15 τῆς Μιλήτου ἀπηρκότα, ἔπλει καὶ αὐτὸς ναυσὶν εὐθὺς πέντε καὶ πεντήκοντα, ἐπειγόμενος μὴ φθάσῃ ἐς τὸν Ἑλλησποντον 2 ἐσπλεύσας. αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὅτι ἐν τῇ Χίῳ εἴη καὶ νομίσας αὐτὸν

3. παρέσονται G. παρπέσονται M. has ἀπεπλ. AC etc. omit the following αἱ.

11. ἐπέπλευσαν all except A, which

2. Ἴπποκράτης] Perhaps the man mentioned c. 35, 1. 107, 2. Krueger tries to get rid of καὶ by conjecturing κατοικῶν, but καὶ connects two reasons for giving credit to Hippocrates' report. 'He was a Spartan, and was on the spot' (Phaselis being within easy reach of Aspendus where Tissaphernes and the Phoenicians were).

3. οὔτε...πάντα τε] cp. ii, 81, 1 οὔτε ξυνεβόηθον ἐφύλασσόν τε. The usage is common in Herodotus.

5. κομίσας τὰς ναῦς] 'by inducing the Peloponnesian fleet to come'; cp. c. 57, 1 τοὺς Πελ. πάλιν κομίσαι ἐς τὴν Μιλήτον. It was for want of a fleet that Pharnabazus could do nothing against the Greek cities.—ἀπ' αὐτοῦ: cp. c. 92, 1.

8. πολλῷ κόσμῳ] So as to be ready to fight if necessary, though he tried to avoid it by keeping his intention secret (ἀπὸ παραγγ. αἰφνιδίου). The Pelopon-

nesians had 112 ships in c. 79, 1, and 26 of these have already gone to the Hellespont (cp. c. 80, and ἐς αὐτὸν in the following sentence here). That would leave 86 instead of 73, the number here mentioned. Thirteen remain to be accounted for, and they are probably those which Diodorus tells us (xiii, 38, 5) were sent by Mindarus under Dorieus to Rhodes, to suppress a revolution there. (v. Stahl and Class.)

13. ἐς τὴν Ἰκαρον] Icaria was 50 or 60 miles nearly due west of Miletus. He had evidently given Samos a wide berth.—ὑπὸ ἀπλοίας: cp. ii, 85, 6. iv, 4, 1. vi, 22, 1.

16. ναυσὶν εὐθὺς πέντε καὶ πεντ.] The position of εὐθὺς seems to show that these words go together, 'at once with 55 ships', implying that others might follow. cp. 1, 26, 3 πλεύσαντες εὐθὺς πέντε καὶ ἑκοσι ναυσὶ, καὶ ὕστερον ἐτέρῳ στόλῳ.

καθέξειν αὐτοῦ, σκοποὺς μὲν κατεστήσατο καὶ ἐν τῇ Λέσβῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρας ἡπείρῳ, εἰ ἄρα ποι κινούντο αἱ νῆες, ὅπως μὴ λάθοιεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν Μήθυμναν παραπλεύσας ἀλφιτὰ τε καὶ τάλλα ἐπιτήδεια παρασκευάζειν ἐκέλευεν ὥς, ἣν πλείων 5 χρόνος γίγνηται, ἐκ τῆς Λέσβου τοὺς ἐπίπλους τῇ Χίῳ ποιησόμενος. ἅμα δὲ (Ἐρεσος γὰρ τῆς Λέσβου ἀφειστήκει) ἐβούλετο 3 ἐπ' αὐτὴν πλεύσας, εἰ δύναιτο, ἐξελεῖν. Μηθυμναίων γὰρ οὐχ οἱ ἀδυνατώτατοι φυγάδες, διακομίσαντες ἕκ τε τῆς Κύμης προσεταιριστοὺς ὀπλίτας ὥς πεντήκοντα καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου μισθωσά- 10 μνοι, ξύμπασιν ὥς τριακοσίοις, Ἀναξάνδρου Θηβαίου κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενὲς ἡγουμένον, προσέβαλον πρῶτον Μηθύμνη· καὶ ἀποκρουσθέντες τῆς πείρας διὰ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Μυτιλήνης Ἀθηναίων φρουροὺς προελθόντας, αὐθις ἔξω μάχῃ ἀπωσθέντες καὶ διὰ τοῦ ὅρους

2. ἀρα ἀποκινούντο M. C appears to have had ποι κινούντο, and to have been corrected later to ἀποκινούντο. 7. ἐξελεῖν ABEF. 11. προσέβαλλον AΕ. προσεβάλλον F. πρώτη AC etc.

1. καθεξειν] 'That he (Mindarus) would stay there'. For the intransitive sense cp. c. 28, 2. iv, 32, 2. The transitive sense, 'that he could keep him there', would not suit the words that follow, ἣν πλείων χρόνος γίγνηται.—ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρας ἡπείρῳ: on the mainland opposite Lesbos. This is clear from Mindarus' subsequent manœuvres (c. 101). The part of his voyage which he makes under cover of night (and therefore the part where there were scouts to be avoided), is between Arginusæ and Harmatous (opposite Methymna).—σκοποὺς...εἰ ποι κινούντο: v. Goodwin *M. and T.* 490, 1.

4. ἣν πλείων χρόνος γίγνηται] ἐγγίγνηται would be more natural (cp. i, 113, 1. iv, 111, 2), but Stahl compares Plat. *Phaed.* 108 c. *Prot.* 320 A. *Rep.* 616 B, the first of which at all events is parallel.

5. τοὺς ἐπίπλους τῇ Χίῳ ποιησόμενος] cp. c. 34 *ad fin.*, and note on c. 24, 2. Mytilene would naturally be the starting point against Chios. Methymna at the N. of the island was only useful for supplies, and as a basis against Eresus (about 20 miles S.W. on the W. coast). Ἐρεσος τῆς Λέσβου go together; cp. 1, 30,

3 Χειμέριον τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος.

7. οὐχ οἱ ἀδυνατώτατοι] i.e. οἱ δυνατώτατοι, and therefore oligarchs. cp. c. 63, 3.—προσεταιριστοὺς: the oligarchic exiles from Methymna had probably resided for some time at Cyme, and been admitted to the *ἐταιρίαι* there. It was members of the *ἐταιρίαι* who formed the nucleus of their force.

10. κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενὲς] Besides the Aeolian origin of both Lesbians and Boeotians, the original colonizers of Lesbos were said to have been recruited directly from Boeotia: cp. c. 5, 2, where the Boeotians support the Lesbians in their application to Agis for assistance.

12. διὰ τοὺς...φρουροὺς προελθόντας] 'by the previous arrival of the Athenian garrison from Mytilene'. προελθεῖν is generally local in sense 'to go forward', but here it is temporal 'to arrive first', like προφικνεῖσθαι § 4. For ἐλθεῖν in the sense 'to arrive' cp. note on c. 87, 3. Eresus had previously revolted, v. c. 23, 6, but the Athenians had then recovered the whole of Lesbos, Eresus apparently included.—ἔξω: sc. τῆς πόλεως: cp. vi, 57, 1.

4 κομισθέντες ἀφιστᾶσι τὴν Ἑρεσον. πλεύσας οὖν ὁ Θράσυλος ἐπ' αὐτὴν πάσαις ταῖς ναυσὶ διανοεῖτο προσβολὴν ποιῆσθαι· προαφικνόμενος δ' αὐτόσε ἦν καὶ ὁ Θρασύβουλος πέντε ναυσὶν ἐκ τῆς Σάμου, ὡς ἡγγέλθη αὐτοῖς ἡ τῶν φυγάδων αὐτῇ διάβασις.  
5 ὑστερήσας δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑρεσον, ἐφόρμει ἐλθών. προσεγγέροντο δὲ 5 καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου τινὲς δύο νῆες ἐπ' οἴκου ἀνακομιζόμεναι καὶ Μηθυμναῖαι <πέντε>· καὶ αἱ πᾶσαι νῆες παρησαν ἐπτά καὶ ἐξήκοντα, ἀφ' ὧν τῷ στρατεύματι παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς κατὰ κράτος μηχαναῖς τε καὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ, ἣν δύνωνται, αἰρήσοντες τὴν Ἑρεσον.

CI. Ὁ δὲ Μίνδαρος ἐν τούτῳ καὶ αἱ ἐκ τῆς Χίου τῶν 10 Πελοποννησίων νῆες, ἐπισιτισάμεναι δυοῖν ἡμέραιν καὶ λαβόντες

4. *ὅτε* for *ὡς* AC etc. 5. *ὑστερήσας* C. 7. The MSS. omit *πέντε*. B has *καὶ αἱ Μηθ.* Dobree conjectured *καὶ Μηθυμναῖαι ε'* (i.e. *πέντε*), and this has been accepted by Herw., Stahl, and Hude. AEFM omit *αἱ* before *πᾶσαι*. 11. B has *αἱ* before *νῆες* instead of before *ἐκ τῆς* X. AFG omit it altogether, and this is easily understood if it followed *καὶ* as in the text. *δυοῖν ἡμέραις* MSS.

5. *ὑστερήσας δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑρεσον*] These words go together; 'he was too late in his attempt to save Eresus'. *ἐφορμεῖν* is followed by *ἐπὶ* with the dat. but not with the acc.

7. *καὶ Μηθυμναῖαι <πέντε>*] The reading of B, *καὶ αἱ Μηθυμναῖαι*, may possibly be right in the sense given it by Tucker, "(all) the Methymnaean ships". It does not however seem very probable. Certainly *καὶ Μηθυμναῖαι* cannot stand as equivalent to *Μηθυμναῖαι τῶν*. Dobree's conjecture at least suits the sense well. Thrasyclus sails from Samos with 55 ships, and Thrasybulus had already arrived with five. This with the two returning from the Hellespont makes 62, and five Methymnaean ships would therefore bring the number up to the required total. It is noticeable that the Methymneans (v. vii, 57, 4 ff.) were the only state except the Chians who still furnished ships to the Athenian alliance, instead of a commuted payment. cp. also iii, 50, 2, where they receive exceptional treatment.

8. *ἀφ' ὧν τῷ στρατεύματι*] Not merely 'with the force drawn from them',

but 'using the ships as a basis they prepared with the force they had on board etc.' *ἀφ' ὧν* goes with *παρεσκευάζοντο* as well as with *τῷ στρατεύματι*. cp. c. 24, 2 τὸν πόλεμον ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἐποι- οῦντο. iv, 10, 4 οὐκ ἐν γῇ στρατός ἐστιν ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου μείζων, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ νεῶν. For *αἱ πᾶσαι νῆες* cp. c. 7 *ad fin.*, and note.

cc. 101—104. The Peloponnesians set out from Chios and arrive at the Hellespont. The Athenian squadron at Sestos barely escapes them. Thrasyclus with the main Athenian force at once leaves Eresus, and follows the Peloponnesians.

10. *αἱ ἐκ τῆς Χίου*] The common proleptic use (cp. i, 8, 2. ii, 66, 1 etc.) due to *ἀπαρρυσιν*. But the fact that the words *ἐκ τῆς Χίου* have already occurred here makes it probable that they ought to be struck out after *ἀπαρρυσιν*, where they would have been likely to be inserted as a marginal comment.

11. *ἐπισιτισάμεναι δυοῖν ἡμέραιν*] 'having completed their provisioning within two days'; cp. v, 14, 3 *φοντο δλίγων ἐτῶν καθαιρήσειν τὴν...δύναμιν*. vii, 3, 1 *ἐξέναι ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας πέντε ἡμερῶν*. The

παρὰ τῶν Χίων τρεῖς τεσσαρακοστὰς ἕκαστος Χίας, τῇ τρίτῃ  
 διὰ ταχέων ἀπαίρουσιν ἐκ τῆς Χίου οὐ πελάγαι, ἵνα μὴ περι-  
 τύχῃσι ταῖς ἐν τῇ Ἐρέσῳ ναυσίν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τὴν Λέσβον  
 ἔχοντες ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τὴν ἡπειρον. καὶ προσβαλόντες τῆς Φωκαίδος 2  
 5 ἐς τὸν ἐν Καρτερίοις λιμένα καὶ ἀριστοποιησάμενοι, παραπλεύσαν-  
 τες τὴν Κυμαίαν δειπνοποιοῦνται ἐν Ἀργινοῦσαις τῆς ἡείρου, ἐν  
 τῷ ἀντιπέρας τῆς Μυτιλήνης. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἔτι πολλῆς νυκτὸς 3  
 παραπλεύσαντες καὶ ἀφικόμενοι τῆς ἡείρου ἐς Ἀρματοῦντα  
 καταντικρὺ Μηθύμνης, ἀριστοποιησάμενοι, διὰ ταχέων παρὰ-

2. οὐ before πελάγαι was added by Haacke. It is not in the MSS., but *v.* note.  
 6. περαιοῦνται for δειπνοποιοῦνται ABEFG. 8. τὴν κυμαίαν is repeated after  
 παραπλεύσαντες by ABEFG. M omits δειπνοποιοῦνται... παραπλεύσαντες (inclusive), thus  
 showing that τὴν κυμαίαν was similarly repeated after παραπλεύσαντες in the text it was  
 copied from. But the extensive variation of the inferior MSS. (*e.g.* παραπλεύσαντες λέκτον  
 καὶ λάρισσαν K) leaves little doubt that παραπλεύσαντες alone is the true reading.  
 Valla also omits κυμαίαν.

MSS. reading appears due to the easy  
 corruption of δυῶν to δυῶν (not an Attic  
 form), ἡμέραι being subsequently cor-  
 rected to uniformity.—*τεσσαρακοστὰς* :  
 Arn. remarks that if this coin was the  
 fortieth part of a stater it would be about  
 equivalent to 3 obols, the daily pay of  
 the sailors.

2. οὐ πελάγαι.] Mindarus' course is  
 indicated on the map at the beginning. In  
 going north from Chios it would be natu-  
 ral to pass outside Lesbos. The insertion  
 of οὐ is necessary, and the fact that the  
 MSS. have dropped it out (after Χίου) need  
 cause no hesitation. Grote's ingenious  
 attempt to keep the MSS. reading (vol. VIII.  
 p. 137. Pt. ii, c. 63) is open to a number  
 of fatal objections, *e.g.* the impossibility  
 of explaining ἀλλὰ, and the fact that by  
 going outside Chios they are *more* instead  
 of *less* likely to be sighted by the Athe-  
 nians at Eresus. His note shows that he  
 altogether misapprehends the nature of  
 the MSS. evidence in such a case as this.  
 It is difficult to say whether the chances  
 were not distinctly in favour of οὐ falling  
 out after Χίου. Certainly to insert it is  
 not to 'take the gravest liberty with the

text', nor is it contrary to any 'canon of  
 criticism'. Stahl summarises many (though  
 by no means all) of the objections to  
 Grote's view.

5. τὸν ἐν Καρτερίοις λιμένα] Car-  
 teria appears to have been an island, *v.*  
 Plin. *Hist. Nat.* v, 38, 138, though there  
 it is wrongly asserted to be near Smyrna.  
 Evidently, on clearing the strait between  
 Chios and Mimas, Mindarus turned due  
 east and made for the mainland.

6. τῆς ἡείρου] If this is genuine  
 there must have been a town Arginusae,  
 on the mainland opposite the islands of  
 that name. The scholiast on Aristoph.  
*Frogs* 33 mentions such a town, but calls  
 it Arginusa. There are said however to  
 be no traces of any settlement there, and  
 τῆς ἡείρου may have been suggested by  
 ἐν τῷ ἀντιπέρας τῆς Μ.

7. ἔτι πολλῆς νυκτὸς] like *multa nocte*  
 in Lat. πολλῆς νυκτὸς means 'well on into  
 the night', *i.e.* 'late at night', if regarded  
 with reference to the evening before; but  
 'just before daybreak' with reference to  
 the next morning. For the position of  
 the following places *v.* map. Little is  
 known of them.

πλεύσαντες Λεκτὸν καὶ Λάρισαν καὶ Ἀμαξιτὸν καὶ τὰ ταύτη χωρία ἀφικνούνται ἐς Ῥοίτειον ἤδη τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, πρῶτερον μέσων νυκτῶν. εἰσὶ δ' αὖ τῶν νεῶν καὶ ἐς Σίγειον κατήσαν καὶ ἄλλοσε τῶν ταύτη χωρίων.

CII. Οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν τῇ Σηστῷ δυοῖν δεούσαις εἴκοσι 5 ναυσὶν ὄντες, ὡς αὐτοῖς οἳ τε φρυκτωροὶ ἐσήμαινον καὶ ἡσθάνοντο τὰ πυρὰ ἐξαίφνης πολλὰ ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ φανέντα, ἔγνωσαν ὅτι ἐσπλεύουσιν οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι. καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης νυκτὸς ὡς εἶχον τάχους ὑπομίξαντες τῇ Χερσονήσῳ, παρέπλεον ἐπ' Ἑλαι- οῦντος, βουλόμενοι ἐκπλεῦσαι ἐς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν [τὰς τῶν πολεμίων 10 2 ναῦς]. καὶ τὰς μὲν ἐν Ἀβύδῳ ἐκκαίδεκα ναῦς ἔλαθον, προειρημένης φυλακῆς τῷ φίλῳ ἐπίπλῳ, ὅπως αὐτῶν ἀνακῶς ἔξουσιν, ἣν ἐκ-

12. τῷ φίλῳ φυλακῆς M, omitting ἐπίπλῳ.

5. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν τῇ Σηστῷ] These are the ships which were sent in c. 80, 4 as a βοήθεια καὶ φυλακὴ ἐς τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον.—φρυκτωροί: cp. iii, 80, 2 ἐφρυκτῶρήθησαν ἐξήκοντα νῆες προσπλεύουσαι.

9. ὑπομίξαντες τῇ Χερσονήσῳ] 'creeping close along the shore of the Chersonese', which retreats in a bay just opposite Abydos. cp. i, 46, 3 ἐπειδὴ προσέμειν τῇ κατὰ Κέρκυραν ἡπείρῳ. ὑπό conveys the idea of stealth.

10. ἐκπλεῦσαι...ναῦς] "ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐκπλεύσαντες διαφύγειν", Schol. The only passages quoted in support of this sense are ii, 90, 5 ὑπεκφεύγουσι τὸ κέρας τῶν Πελο. νησιῶν καὶ τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν ἐς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν, and iii, 34, 2 ὑπεξελλόντες τοῦτους. Neither of these gives much justification for the present use of ἐκπλεῦσαι. Moreover ἐκπλεῖν and ἐσπλεῖν, used absolutely, are the regular phrases for sailing out of and into the Hellespont. It is therefore very probable that Dobree and Stahl are right in supposing that τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ναῦς originated in τὰς τῶν πολεμίων written as a marginal explanation of τὰς ἐν Ἀβύδῳ ναῦς.

11. προειρημένης...ἐπίπλῳ] The Scholiast, followed by many editors, explains this to mean, 'although they had been

warned by their friends who were approaching (i.e. Mindarus) to keep a look out in case the Athenians tried to escape'. The grammatical objections to this are serious. First, the absence of καίπερ, or some such word, before προειρημένης is very awkward; secondly, Classen remarks that where προειπεῖν or προειρήσθαι occurs with a dative, the dative always expresses the person *to whom* the order is given, not the person giving the order, cp. i, 45, 3. ii, 84, 1. iv, 128, 1. v, 30, 5. vi, 65, 1. viii, 69, 3. A single exception to such a regular usage is unlikely, even if there were no intrinsic objections to it. Again it is not probable on general grounds that Mindarus, who was most anxious to keep his intentions a secret, should have sent on a special messenger for so unimportant a purpose. The Athenians at Sestos outnumbered the Peloponnesians, and the latter could hardly prevent their escaping if they chose. Classen therefore supposes that the φάλιος ἐπιπλοῦς is the Athenian fleet of Thrasylus to which the Athenians at Sestos had sent instructions to be on the look out to assist them if they were compelled to sail out from the Hellespont. This does not so well suit the expressions φυλακὴ and ἀνακῶς ἔχειν, but the more serious objection to it is that it would

πλέωσι· τὰς δὲ μετὰ τοῦ Μινδάρου ἅμα τῇ ἔφ κατιδόντες, τὴν δίωξιν εὐθὺς ποιουμένων, οὐ φθάνουσι πάσαις, ἀλλ' αἱ μὲν πλείους ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰμβρου καὶ Λήμνου διέφυγον, τέσσαρες δὲ τῶν νεῶν αἱ ὑσταταὶ πλέουσai καταλαμβάνονται παρὰ τὸν Ἐλαιούντα. 5 καὶ μίαν μὲν ἐποκέλευσαν κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Πρωτεσιλάου αὐτοῖς 3 ἀνδράσι λαμβάνουσι, δύο δὲ ἑτέρας ἄνευ τῶν ἀνδρῶν· τὴν δὲ μίαν πρὸς τῇ Ἰμβρῳ κενὴν κατακαίουσι.

CIII. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ταῖς τε ἐξ Ἀβύδου ξυμμιγείσαις καὶ

2. ποιούμενοι MSS. v. note. πάσας B. πᾶσαι AC etc. The emendation is Reiske's, and is in accordance with regular usage. 3. ἡλείρου for Ἰμβρου AC etc.

have no meaning except in the case of the Lacedaemonians and the Athenians sailing into the Hellespont in rapid succession, the Lacedaemonians first. Though this was what actually occurred there was no possible reason to anticipate it. Thrasylus had got to the north of Mindarus, and was likely either to arrive first himself or at least not to let him through without a battle. There remains still one way of taking the words which suits both the sense and the grammar, viz. to suppose that προειρημένης... ἐκπλέωσι are an explanation of τὰς ἐν Ἀβύδῳ ναῦς ἑλάνθον: 'They escaped the ships at Abydos (the more easily) as these ships had warned Mindarus (τῷ φίλῳ ἐπίπλῳ) to be on the look out to intercept the Athenians if they tried to escape'. It is implied that the Peloponnesians at Abydos took no trouble to intercept them themselves, as they were sure that Mindarus would do so. Stahl accepts this as the sense, but thinks that some words like ἀμελέστερον ἐπιτηρούσας must have fallen out after ἑλάνθον. This appears to me unnecessary, but whether with or without the further supposition of a lacuna the explanation in question is the only one that fits the passage.—ἀνακῶς is similarly used by Herod. i, 24. viii, 109.

1. τὴν δίωξιν εὐθὺς ποιουμένων] The MSS. reading ποιούμενοι can only be

explained by supposing that δίωξις here = φωνή. Though this is supported by the Scholiast and some editors, it is clearly impossible. Thucydides has the phrase in two places, iii, 33, 3 ὁ δὲ ἐκὸς σπουδῆς ἐποιεῖτο τὴν δίωξιν, and v, 73, 4 ποιοῦνται... τὰς διώξεις. In both cases it is used, as on all grounds was to be expected, of the pursuer. It would be an intolerable caprice to use it in the opposite sense here. It is necessary therefore to make some alteration. Either ποιουμένων, ποιούμενοι, or ποιούμενας, would make good sense. The second is practically no alteration at all, v and i being frequently indistinguishable in the MSS. But, as it is impossible to decide definitely between them, I have printed that which is most in accordance with Thuc. usage (cp. i, 3, 2. 25, 4). Herbst's emendation δίωσιν for δίωξιν, 'breaking through the line', will not do, because (1) φθάνουσι loses all point, (2) the subsequent narrative shows that, instead of going straight to meet the Peloponnesians and charging through them, the Athenians edge away to the west and north, towards Lemnos and Imbros, the course by which they would best avoid them.

5. τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Πρωτεσιλάου] cp. Herod. ix, 116 ἐν γὰρ Ἐλαιούντι· τῆς Χερσονήσου ἐστὶ Πρωτεσιλέω τάφος τε καὶ τέμενος περὶ αὐτόν.—τὴν δὲ μίαν: 'the

ταῖς ἄλλαις ξυμπάσαις ἔξ καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα πολιορκήσαντες Ἐλαι-  
οῦντα ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν, ὥς οὐ προσεχώρει, ἀπέπλευσαν ἐς  
Ἄβυδον.

- 2 Οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ψευσθέντες τῶν σκοπῶν καὶ οὐκ ἂν οἰόμενοι  
σφῶς λαθεῖν τὸν παράπλου τῶν πολεμίων νεῶν, ἀλλὰ καθ' 5  
ἡσυχίαν τειχομαχοῦντες, ὥς ἦσθοντο, εὐθύς ἀπολιπόντες τὴν  
Ἔρεσον κατὰ τάχος ἐβοήθουν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον· καὶ δύο  
τε ναῦς τῶν Πελοποννησίων αἰρούσιν, αἱ πρὸς τὸ πέλαγος τότε  
θρασύτερον ἐν τῇ διώξει ἀπάρασαι περιέπεσον αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἡμέρα  
ἕστερον ἀφικόμενοι ὀρμίζονται ἐς τὸν Ἐλαιοῦντα καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῆς 10  
Ἰμβρου ὅσαι κατέφυνγον κομίζονται καὶ ἐς τὴν ναυμαχίαν πέντε  
ἡμέρας παρεσκευάζοντο.

CIV. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐναυμάχουν τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι

remaining one'. Four are said above to have been captured; details have already been given as to three of them.

1. ξυμπάσαις ἔξ καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα.] Mindarus had 73 ships; there were 16 at Abydos. Two of these last were captured (*v.* § 2 of this chap.), but there is still one too many. Diodorus (xiii, 39, 2) says that 3 were captured; which would remove the discrepancy.

3. ψευσθέντες τῶν σκοπῶν] literally 'being wrong about their scouts', *i.e.* being wrong in having placed confidence in them. *cp.* i, 132, 5, ἦν ψευσθῇ τῆς δόξης.—οὐκ ἂν οἰόμενοι σφῶς λαθεῖν: for the position of ἂν (which belongs to λαθεῖν) *v.* Goodwin *M. and T.* 220. It is frequently separated from its verb, especially when it belongs to an infin. governed by *οἶμαι*, *δοκῶ*, *φημί*, *οἶδα*, etc.

9. ἡμέρα ἕστερον ἀφικόμενοι] 'arriving one day later than the Peloponnesians'. *cp.* vi, 4, 2 ἔρουν ἕστερον ἑκατὸν ἢ αὐτοὺς οἰκῆσαι. viii, 44, 3 ἕστερῃσαντες οὐ πολλῶ.—τὰς ἐκ τῆς Ἰμβρου: there is no reason to suppose, with Stahl, that this excludes the ships that had fled to Lemnos. They may probably have rejoined the others at Imbros.—ἐς τὴν ναυμαχίαν: the article is used because,

though the battle has not been mentioned before, it was obviously impending and therefore in everybody's thoughts.

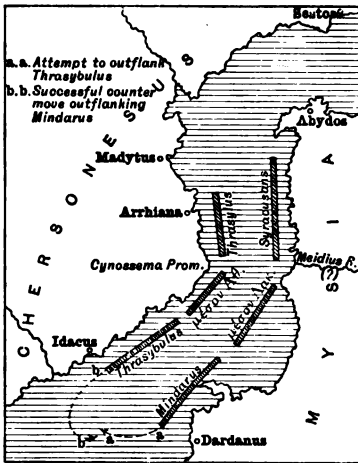
*cc.* 104—108. Battle of Cynossema. Victory of the Athenians, and effect of the news at Athens. The Athenians recover Cyzicus, and the Peloponnesians send for the fleet which was cruising about Euboea, to reinforce them.

13. ἐναυμάχουν τρόπῳ τοιῷδε] The sketch-map on page 164 will give an idea of the battle. The Athenians are sailing up from the south in a long column, hugging closely the shore of the Chersonese. The Lacedaemonians extend themselves from Abydos southwards keeping closely along the opposite shore. When the two fleets had faced one another and prepared for battle, Mindarus (on the left) tried to outflank the Athenians opposite him and cut off their retreat. The Athenians turn the tables upon him and outflank him, though at the cost of so spreading and weakening their centre as to allow it to be completely crushed. Then they wheel round, following the course indicated in the map and, falling on the flank of the victorious Lacedaemonian centre, completely defeat them.



παρέπλεον ἐπὶ κέρως ταξάμενοι παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν γῆν ἐπὶ τῆς Σησοῦ, οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι αἰσθόμενοι ἐκ τῆς Ἀβύδου ἀντανῆγον καὶ αὐτοί. καὶ ὡς ἐγνωσαν ναυμαχῆσόντες, παρέτειναν <sup>2</sup> τὸ κέρας οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι παρὰ τὴν Χερσόνησον, ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ <sup>5</sup> Ἰδάκου μέχρι Ἀρριανῶν, νῆες ἕξ καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα, οἱ δ' αὖ Πελοποννήσιοι ἀπὸ Ἀβύδου μέχρι Δαρδάνου, νῆες ἕξ καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα. κέρας δὲ τοῖς μὲν Πελοποννησίοις εἶχον τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν <sup>3</sup> Συρακόσιοι, τὸ δ' ἕτερον αὐτὸς Μίνδαρος καὶ τῶν νεῶν αἱ ἄριστα πλέουσai, Ἀθηναίοις δὲ τὸ μὲν ἀριστερόν Θρασύλος, ὁ δὲ Θρασύ- <sup>10</sup> βουλος τὸ δεξιόν· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ ὡς ἕκαστοι διετάξαντο. ἐπείγουμένων δὲ τῶν Πελοποννησίων πρότερόν τε ξυμμίξαι, καὶ <sup>4</sup> κατὰ μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑπερσχόντες αὐτοὶ τῷ εὐνύνμφ

5. ὀγδοήκοντα (for ἐβδομήκοντα) CG. 6. ὀκτώ καὶ ἐξήκοντα MSS., but cp. c. 103, 1. With abbreviations for the numbers, the inversion was easy, and the reading of CG above points to the fact that ὀγδοήκοντα did occur somewhere in the context.  
9. τὸ δὲ δεξιὸν θρασύβουλος B.



1. ἐπὶ κέρως ταξάμενοι] 'in column' (literally 'facing on the wing'); often opposed to ἐπὶ φάλαγος: cp. Xen. *Hell.* vi, 2, 30. But it would appear that in military language κέρας and φάλαγξ by themselves acquired the meaning of column and line, cp. Xen. *Cyr.* viii, 5, 15 ἐκ κέρατος εἰς φάλαγγα καταστήσαι.

5. ἕξ καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα] There is some doubt as to the reading in the case of

both Ath. and Lac. totals, but it is hardly worth while to try and harmonize the numbers exactly, for nothing is so easily changed in the MSS. Thrasyllus brought 67 ships from Eresus (c. 100, 5), and was joined by some at all events of the 18 ships that escaped of the Athenian squadron at Sestos. The Peloponnesians must have had the same number as in c. 103, 1, viz. 86.

10. ὡς ἕκαστοι] an elliptical expression, the full sense being οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ διετάξαντο, ὡς [διετάξαντο] ἕκαστοι. cp. v, 4, 3 οἱ μὲν ἐπλανήθησαν ὡς ἕκαστοι. —διετάξαντο: Xen. frequently uses the word of soldiers, 'to take their post', 'fall in'; but I cannot find it elsewhere in the middle applied to generals. Possibly στρατηγοὶ should be omitted.

12. ὑπερσχόντες αὐτοὶ...ἀποκλιῆσαι] This depends on ἐπείγουμένων. Theoretically ὑπερσχόντες should be ὑπερσχόντων, but so great is the awkwardness of carrying on the genitive of the subject from a genitive absolute into a dependent construction, that in practice it is seldom done. Arn. compares v, 41, 2 οὐκ ἐόντων Λακεδαιμονίων—ἀλλ'—ἐτοίμοι εἶναι. cp.

ἀποκλῆσαι τοῦ ἔξω αὐτοὺς ἔκπλου, εἰ δύναιτο, κατὰ δὲ τὸ μέσον  
 ἐξῶσαι πρὸς τὴν γῆν οὐχ ἑκάς οὖσαν, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι γνόντες, ἡ μὲν  
 ἐβούλοντο ἀποφράσθαι αὐτοὺς οἱ ἐναντίοι, ἀντεπεξῆγον καὶ  
 5 περιεγίνοντο τῷ πλῶ. τὸ δ' εὐώνυμον αὐτοῖς ὑπερεβεβλήκει  
 ἤδη τὴν ἄκραν ἡ Κυνὸς σῆμα καλεῖται. τῷ δὲ μέσῳ, τοιούτου 5  
 ξυμβαίνοντος, ἀσθενέσι καὶ διεσπασμέναις ταῖς ναυσὶ καθίσταντο,  
 ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐλάσσοσι χρώμενοι τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τοῦ χωρίου τοῦ  
 περὶ τὸ Κυνὸς σῆμα ὀξεῖαν καὶ γωνιώδη τὴν περιβολὴν ἔχοντος,  
 ὥστε τὰ ἐν τῷ ἐπέκεινα αὐτοῦ γυγνόμενα μὴ κάτοπτα εἶναι.

CV. Προσπεσόντες οὖν οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι κατὰ τὸ μέσον 10  
 ἐξέωσάν τε ἐς τὸ ξηρὸν τὰς ναὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἐς τὴν  
 2 γῆν ἐπεξέβησαν, τῷ ἔργῳ πολὺ περισχόντες. ἀμύναι δὲ τῷ μέσῳ  
 οὐθ' οἱ περὶ τὸν Θρασύβουλον ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιῷ ὑπὸ πλήθους τῶν  
 ἐπικειμένων νεῶν ἐδύναντο, οὐθ' οἱ περὶ τὸν Θράσυλον ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 εὐωνύμου (ἀφανές τε γὰρ ἦν διὰ τὴν ἄκραν τὸ Κυνὸς σῆμα καὶ 15

1. ἀποκλείσαι ABCG. αὐτοῖς AEFM.

9. ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ A. ἐπεκείνω F.

also c. 27, 1, and note.—πρὸς τὴν γῆν οὐχ ἑκάς οὖσαν: the promontory of Cynossema projects just in the centre of the Athenian position, so that it was κατὰ τὸ μέσον that the Lac. had the best chance of driving them back on the land.

2. ἡ μὲν ἐβούλοντο κ.τ.λ.] i.e. on their right wing. ἀντεπεξῆγον = *aciem contra extendebant* Haase. cp. c. 105, 3 ἡ ἐπεξαγωγή τοῦ κέρως. v. map. Meanwhile, as both wings were extending, the centre was rapidly thinned and weakened.

6. ἀσθενέσι...ταῖς ναυσὶ καθίσταντο] The strangeness of this phrase does not seem to have been noticed, but it is hard to find a parallel. καθίστασθαι in the sense 'to be' or 'to become' is common enough with an adjective, e.g. vi, 15, 3 πολέμοι καθέστασαν (cp. i, 6, 4, vi, 59, 2, vii, 28, 4), but the step from ἀσθενεῖς καθίσταντο to ἀσθενέσι ταῖς ναυσὶ καθίσταντο is a considerable one. Moreover there is a confusion in speaking of the ships themselves as 'weak' unless it were as a mere corollary to διεσπασμέναις, whereas the words occur in the contrary order. It is the Athenian centre as a whole that was weakened by the dispersion

of the individual ships. It seems therefore extremely probable that Thuc. wrote τῷ δὲ μέσῳ ἀσθενεῖς διεσπασμέναις ταῖς ναυσὶ καθίσταντο. Nothing is more common than the alteration of terminations in the MSS. to suit the case of a preceding or following word (cp. c. 6, 5. c. 17, 3. c. 25, 3. c. 65, 1 (αὐτοὺς ξυμμάχους ACEFM), c. 70, 2. c. 92, 2), and if ἀσθενεῖς was changed to ἀσθενέσι the insertion of καὶ would inevitably follow.

For διεσπασμέναις ταῖς ναυσὶ cp. ii, 90, 1 δεξιῷ κέρα ἡγουμένῳ, viii, 27, 6 ἀτελεῖ τῇ νικῇ.—ἐλάσσοσι χρώμενοι τὸ πλῆθος: 'as they had a smaller centre division': nothing is implied as to the total numbers.

7. τοῦ χωρίου...ἔχοντος] 'as the turn of the coast at Cynossema is sharp and angular'. περιβολή is not merely 'outline', but 'curve' or 'turn'; cp. περιβολὴν ποιέσθαι ('to fetch a compass') Xen. Cyr. vi, 3, 30.—ἐν τῷ ἐπέκεινα: cp. vi, 63, 3. vii, 58, 1.

13. ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιῷ] ἀπὸ here and before τοῦ εὐωνύμου goes with ἀμύναι. cp. iv, 115, 2 ἡμύναντο...ἀπ' οἰκίων ἐπάλξεις ἐχουσῶν.

15. ἀφανές ἦν] sc. τὸ μέσον.—τὴν

ἄμα οἱ Συρακόσιοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οὐκ ἐλάσσους ἐπιτεταγμένοι  
 εἶργον αὐτούς), πρὶν οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι διὰ τὸ κρατήσαντες ἀδεῶς  
 ἄλλοι ἄλλην ναὺν διώκειν ἤρξαντο μέρει τινὶ σφῶν ἀτακτότεροι  
 γενέσθαι. γνόντες δὲ οἱ περὶ τὸν Θρασύβουλον, τὰς ἐπὶ σφίσι 3  
 5 ναῦς ἐπεχούσας, παυσάμενοι τῆς ἐπεξαγωγῆς ἤδη τοῦ κέρως καὶ  
 ἐπαναστρέψαντες, εὐθὺς ἡμύναντό τε καὶ τρέπουσι, καὶ τὰς κατὰ  
 τὸ νικήσαν τῶν Πελοποννησίων μέρος ὑπολαβόντες πεπλανημένας  
 ἔκοπτόν τε καὶ ἐς φόβον τὰς πλείους ἀμαχεὶ καθίστασαν. οἳ τε  
 Συρακόσιοι ἐτύγγανον καὶ αὐτοὶ ἤδη τοῖς περὶ τὸν Θράσυλον  
 10 ἐνδεδωκότες καὶ μᾶλλον ἐς φυγὴν ὁρμήσαντες ἐπειδὴ καὶ τοὺς  
 ἄλλους ἐώρων.

CVI. Γεγενημένης δὲ τῆς τροπῆς, καὶ καταφυγόντων τῶν  
 Πελοποννησίων πρὸς τὸν Μείδιον μάλιστα ποταμὸν τὸ πρῶτον,

3. διώκοντες for διώκειν ABFM. cp. ἀναστρέφοντες (B) iv, 35, 1. 6. ἡμύνοντο  
 ACEFM. 13. πρὸς τὸν πύδιον CGM. (M is here written in afresh as the  
 letters had faded, but I think πύδιον was also in the original text.)

ἄκραν τὸ Κυνὸς σῆμα: Herw. strikes out  
 τὸ Κ. σῆμα as a gloss, and it looks like  
 one. But we have in i, 46, 3 ἡ ἄκρα τὸ  
 Χειμέριον, where the name seems needed  
 for clearness.

2. διὰ τὸ...διώκειν] Classen defends  
 the reading of the MSS. διώκοντες, regard-  
 ing διὰ τὸ with the participle as a possible  
 though incorrect substitute for διὰ τὸ with  
 the infinitive. The other instances quoted  
 are iv, 63, 1 διὰ τὸ ἤδη φοβεροῦς παρόντας  
 Ἀθηναίους, and v, 7, 2 οὐ βουλόμενος  
 αὐτοὺς διὰ τὸ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καθημένους  
 βαρύνεσθαι. But it would need far better  
 MSS. than any that we have to make so  
 harsh and irregular a construction prob-  
 able. It is most instructive to notice  
 that in iv, 35, 1, where almost all the MSS.  
 give διὰ τὸ δὲ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἀναστρέφεσθαι,  
 so good a MS. as B has ἀναστρέφοντες.  
 It can hardly be proposed to restore the  
 participle there, and yet if the identical  
 error has occurred once, there is nothing  
 very unlikely in its occurring again.  
 Either κρατῆσαι (suggested as possible by  
 Classen), or διώκειν (Krueger and Stahl)  
 would make the construction regular, but  
 the latter on the whole seems preferable.

4. τὰς ἐπὶ σφίσι ναῦς ἐπεχούσας]  
 'The ships that were threatening them'.  
 ἐπέχεω ἐπὶ τινι = 'to have hostile inten-  
 tions against somebody'; Class. quotes  
 Herod. vi, 49 δοκέοντες ἐπὶ σφίσι ἐπέχοντας  
 τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους δεδωκέναι (γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ  
 Δαρεῖω). Homer has ἐπέχεω τινὶ in the  
 same sense, *Od.* xix, 71; and ἐπέχεω ἐπὶ  
 τινι is similarly used, Herod. ix, 59. The  
 words τὰς ναῦς are governed by ἡμύναντό  
 τε καὶ τρέπουσι. Some propose to connect  
 them with γνόντες and to translate 'observ-  
 ing that the ships opposed to them paused  
 in their advance'; but, even if this were  
 possible on other grounds, γνόντες must  
 clearly mean 'observing the disorder of  
 the Peloponnesian centre' (which has just  
 been mentioned).

8. οἳ τε Συρακόσιοι...καὶ αὐτοὶ κ.τ.λ.]  
 καὶ αὐτοὶ means that they were giving  
 way 'on their own account', i.e. inde-  
 pendently of the defeat of their friends,  
 though the sight of that defeat made  
 them still more ready to fly. cp. Hom.  
*Il.* viii, 293 σπεύδοντα καὶ αὐτὸν ὀτρύνει.  
 —τοὺς ἄλλους ἐώρων: sc. ἐς φυγὴν ὁρμή-  
 σαντας. cp. i, 78, 4. 80, 1.

13. Μείδιον] The name is not other-

ὕστερον δὲ ἐς Ἀβυδον, ναὺς μὲν ὀλίγας ἔλαβον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι  
 (στενὸς γὰρ ὦν ὁ Ἑλλησποντος βραχείας τὰς ἀποφυγὰς τοῖς  
 ἐναντίοις παρέιχε), τὴν μέντοι νίκην ταύτην τῆς ναυμαχίας  
 2 ἐπικαιροτάτην δὴ ἔσχον. φοβούμενοι γὰρ τέως τὸ τῶν Πελο-  
 ποννησίων ναυτικὸν διὰ τε τὰ κατὰ βραχὺ σφάλματα καὶ διὰ 5  
 τὴν ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ ξυμφοράν, ἀπηλλάγησαν τοῦ σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς  
 καταμέμφεσθαι καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἔτι ἀξίους του ἐς τὰ ναυτικά  
 3 νομίζειν. ναὺς μέντοι τῶν ἐναντίων λαμβάνουσι Χίᾱς μὲν ὀκτώ,  
 Κορινθίας δὲ πέντε, Ἀμπρακιωτίδας δὲ δύο καὶ Βοιωτίας δύο,  
 Λευκαδίων δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Συρακοσίων καὶ Πελληνέων 10  
 4 μίαν ἐκάστων· αὐτοὶ δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα ναὺς ἀπολλύασι. στήσαντες  
 δὲ τροπαῖον ἐπὶ τῇ ἄκρᾳ οὗ τὸ Κυνὸς σῆμα καὶ τὰ ναυάγια  
 προσαγαγόμενοι καὶ νεκροὺς τοῖς ἐναντίοις ὑποσπόνδους ἀποδόντες  
 5 ἀπέστειλαν καὶ ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας τριήρῃ ἀγγελον τῆς νίκης. οἱ δὲ  
 ἀφικομένης τῆς νεῶς καὶ ἀνέλπιστον τὴν εὐτυχίαν ἀκούσαντες ἐπὶ 15  
 τε ταῖς περὶ τὴν Εὐβοίαν ἄρτι ξυμφοραῖς καὶ κατὰ τὴν στάσιν  
 γεγενημέναις πολὺ ἐπερρώσθησαν καὶ ἐνόμισαν σφίσιν ἔτι δυνατὰ  
 εἶναι τὰ πράγματα, ἣν προθύμως ἀντιλαμβάνονται, περιγενέσθαι.

13. προσαγόμενοι AEFM. καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς A. τοὺς ἐναντίους M.

wise known, but the river Rhodius midway between Abydos and Dardanus would seem the most likely place for the defeated Peloponnesians to find shelter. Possibly the *v. l.* Πύδιον is a corruption of Πόδιον.

2. βραχείας τὰς ἀποφυγὰς ἀποφυγὴ = ἀποχώρησις: cp. v, 73, 4, and vii, 49, 2. —τὴν μέντοι νίκην...ἐπικαιροτάτην ἔσχον: 'their victory proved most opportune'. This is merely the personal way of putting ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐπικαιροτάτη ἡ νίκη. cp. iv, 92, 5 ἐπικυνδυνότεραν...τὴν παρόλκῃσιν τῶνδε ἔχομεν. v, 46, 4 μὴ πάντα ἀτελῆ ἔχων ἀπέλθῃ.

5. τὰ κατὰ βραχὺ σφάλματα] e.g. at Oropus c. 95, and at Elaeus c. 102. κατὰ βραχὺ means 'in small detachments', 'in detail'; cp. vii, 79, 5. Their reverses in detail are here opposed to their success in the general engagement. The Scholiast wrongly takes κατὰ βραχὺ as temporal.

12. οὗ τὸ Κυνὸς σῆμα] For the omission of ἐστὶ *v.* note on c. 90, 2. The

σῆμα was according to the legend a monument to Hecuba, who here drowned herself after being changed into a dog. —νεκροὺς: the article is often omitted with νεκροί: cp. iv, 14, 5. v, 10, 12. vii, 5, 3.

15. ἐπὶ τε ταῖς...ξυμφοραῖς] Classen thinks that this *τε* answers to καὶ κατὰ τὴν στάσιν, as if the order were ἐπὶ ταῖς περὶ τε τὴν Εὐβ. κ.τ.λ., but he gives no example of such a transposition. If ταῖς were repeated before κατὰ τὴν στάσιν, making two independent phrases, it would be quite normal to have ἐπὶ τε ταῖς...καὶ ταῖς, as *τε* in such cases commonly follows the preposition. But as the words stand it is hardly possible that *τε*, if it serves to contrast the different misfortunes, should come before ταῖς which embraces them both. Stahl is certainly right in making *τε* answer to καὶ ἐνόμισαν.

17. δυνατὰ εἶναι τὰ πράγματα...περιγενέσθαι] δυνατὰ agrees with πράγματα. cp. iii, 86, 5 εἰ σφίσι δυνατὰ εἴη τὰ ἐν

CVII. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ναυμαχίαν ἡμέρᾳ τετάρτῃ ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ἐπισκευάσαντες τὰς ναῦς οἱ ἐν τῇ Σηστῇ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔπλεον ἐπὶ Κύζικον ἀφεστηκυῖαν· καὶ κατιδόντες κατὰ Ἀρπάγιον καὶ Πρίαπον τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ Βυζαντίου ὀκτὼ ναῦς ὁρμούσας, ἐπιπλεύσαντες καὶ 5 μάχῃ κρατήσαντες τοὺς ἐν τῇ γῇ ἔλαβον τὰς ναῦς. ἀφικόμενοι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Κύζικον ἀτειχιστον οὖσαν προσηγάγοντο πάλιν καὶ χρήματα ἀνέπραξαν. ἔπλευσαν δὲ ἐν τούτῳ καὶ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι 2 ἐκ τῆς Ἀβύδου ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐλαιούντα καὶ τῶν σφετέρων νεῶν τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ὅσαι ἦσαν ὑγιεῖς ἐκομίσαντο (τὰς δὲ ἄλλας Ἐλαιούσιοι 10 κατέκαυσαν), καὶ ἐς τὴν Εὐβοίαν ἀπέπεμψαν Ἴπποκράτη καὶ Ἐπικλέα κομιοῦντας τὰς ἐκεῖθεν ναῦς.

CVIII. Κατέπλευσε δὲ ὑπὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους τούτους καὶ ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης ταῖς τρισὶ καὶ δέκα ναυσὶν ἀπὸ τῆς Καύνου καὶ Φασήλιδος ἐς τὴν Σάμον, ἀγγέλλων ὅτι τὰς τε Φοινίσσας ναῦς 15 ἀποστρέψει τοῖς Πελοποννησίοις ὥστε μὴ ἐλθεῖν, καὶ τὸν Τισσαφέρην ὅτι φίλον πεποιήκοι μᾶλλον Ἀθηναίοις ἢ πρότερον. καὶ 2

14. AEFM omit τε after τας.

16. μᾶλλον πεποιήκει GM. πεποιήκει ABEF.

τῇ Σικελίᾳ πράγματα ὑποχείρια γενέσθαι. For a somewhat similar phrase v. vii, 56, 2 πολλὰ σφῶν καθυπέρτερα τὰ πράγματα εἶναι.

1. ὑπὸ σπουδῆς] cp. iii, 33, 3. v, 66, 2.

3. Κύζικον] The most important town on the southern coast of the Propontis, occupying the neck of the peninsula of Arctonnesos. It was founded by Ionians from Miletus and had been induced by Pharnabazus and Clearchus to revolt shortly before the battle of Cynossema. (Diodor. xiii, 40.)—Ἀρπάγιον καὶ Πρίαπον: these should naturally come in the reverse order, Harpagion being furthest east on the border between the territories of Priapus and Cyzicus.—τὰς...ὀκτὼ ναῦς: v. c. 80, 3—4.

7. ἀνέπραξαν] The word is used ii, 95, 1. Xen. *Anab.* vii, 6, 40. If there is any difference of meaning between ἀναπράσσειν and the more usual εἰσπράσσειν (or ἐκπράσσειν), it would appear that the former implies the exaction of money properly due. v. Abresch's note here, who quotes Aristotle. *Birds* 620.

8. ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐλαιούντα] The Athe-

nians appear from § 1 to have made Sestos their head-quarters. They must therefore have taken the captured ships back from Sestos to Eleus for safety before starting for Cyzicus.

11. τὰς ἐκεῖθεν ναῦς] Forty-two ships; v. c. 91, 2. Diodorus (xiii, 41) says that these and eight others with them were afterwards wrecked off the promontory of Mt Athos. For the proleptic use of ἐκεῖθεν Poppo compares i, 62, 4. vii, 26, 3.

100. 108—9. Alcibiades returns from Aspendus to Samos. Tissaphernes resolves to follow the Peloponnesians to the Hellespont, and goes as far as Ephesus, where he sacrifices to Artemis.

13. τῆς Καύνου καὶ Φασήλιδος] v. note on c. 88, *ad fin.* He is there said to have taken 13 ships εὐθὺς τῆς Φασήλιδος καὶ Καύνου.—τοῖς Πελοποννησίοις: these words go closely with μὴ ἐλθεῖν, 'he had prevented their being brought up to support the Peloponnesians' (cp. c. 88 ἢ Πελοποννησίοις γε κωλύσειν ἐλθεῖν). ἀποστρέψει represents ἀπέστρεψα of direct speech.

πληρώσας ναὺς ἐννέα πρὸς αἷς εἶχεν Ἀλικαρνασσίας τε πολλὰ χρήματα ἐξέπραξε καὶ Κῶν ἐτείχισε. ταῦτα δὲ πράξας καὶ ἄρχοντα ἐν τῇ Κῷ καταστήσας πρὸς τὸ μετόπωρον ἤδη ἐς τὴν Σάμον κατέπλευσεν.

- 3 Καὶ ὁ Τισσαφέρνης ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσπένδου, ὡς ἐπύθετο τὰς τῶν 5 Πελοποννησίων ναὺς ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον 4 πεπλευκυίας, ἀναζεύξας ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰωνίας. ὄντων δὲ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἐν τῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ, Ἀντάνδριοι (εἰσὶ δὲ Αἰολῆς) παρακομισάμενοι ἐκ τῆς Ἀβύδου πεζῇ διὰ τῆς Ἰδης τοῦ ὄρους ὀπλίτας ἐσηγάγοντο ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ὑπὸ Ἀρσάκου τοῦ Πέρσου, 10 Τισσαφέρνους ὑπάρχου, ἀδικούμενοι, ὅσπερ καὶ Δηλίους τοὺς Ἀτραμύττιον κατοικήσαντας, ὅτε ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων Δήλου καθάρσεως ἔνεκα ἀνέστησαν, ἔχθραν προσποιησάμενος ἄδηλον καὶ ἐπαγγείλας στρατείαν αὐτῶν τοῖς βελτίστοις, ἐξαγαγὼν ὡς ἐπὶ φιλιὰ καὶ 15 ξυμμαχίᾳ, τηρήσας ἀριστοποιουμένους καὶ περιστήσας τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ 5 κατηκόντισε. φοβούμενοι οὖν αὐτὸν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον μήποτε καὶ περὶ σφᾶς τι παρανομήσῃ, καὶ ἄλλα ἐπιβάλλοντος αὐτοῦ ἂ φέρειν οὐκ ἠδύναντο, ἐκβάλλουσι τοὺς φρουροὺς αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως.

3. ἀρχῶντας AEFM. 13. ἀνέστησαν ἔνεκα M. 14. στρατιὰν MSS., but v. note. 'expeditionem indixisset' Valla. 17. Stahl reads ἅμα ἐπιβάλλοντος, on the ground that 'alia quae Antandris Arsaces imposuerit, non memorata sunt.' But this is unnecessary.

1. Ἀλικαρνασσίας] The Carian maritime towns paid tribute to Athens at the beginning of the war; cp. ii, 9, 4. It would appear however that the inland towns generally resisted it (v. iii, 19). The name of Halicarnassus frequently occurs in the lists of Athenian tributaries between 447 and 413 B.C.—πρὸς τὸ μετόπωρον ἤδη: i.e. about September. cp. 87, 1.

7. ἀναζεύξας ἤλαυνεν] 'Broke up his camp, and marched'. Neither word is elsewhere used in this sense by Thuc., though both are very frequent in Xenophon.

8. Ἀντάνδριοι] Antandrus was betrayed to some Mytilenean exiles and other Lesbians in the 8th year of the war, but shortly afterwards recovered by Athens (iv, 52. 75). It seems to have

been retaken in the interval by the Persians. The rest of the Aeolian cities were subject to Pharnabazus, not to Tissaphernes.—Δηλίους κ.τ.λ.: governed by κατηκόντισε. The expulsion of the Delians and their settlement at Adramyttium are narrated in v, 1.

13. ἔχθραν προσποιησάμενος ἄδηλον] i.e. pretending that he was leading them out to attack enemies of his own whose name he did not wish to divulge.—στρατεία: Stahl's objection to στρατιὰν seems reasonable. A state may be ordered to furnish an army (στρατιά), but individuals (οἱ βελτίστοι) are only ordered for service (στρατεία).

17. ἐπιβάλλοντος αὐτοῦ κ.τ.λ.] This explains ἀδικούμενοι § 4. cp. the middle force of ἐπιβάλλεσθαι in vi, 40, 2 πόλις ἦδε...οὐκ...αὐθαίρετον δουλείαν ἐπιβαλεῖται.

CIX. Ὁ δὲ Τισσαφέρνης αἰσθόμενος καὶ τοῦτο τῶν Πελοποννησίων τὸ ἔργον καὶ οὐ μόνον τὸ ἐν Μιλήτῳ καὶ Κνίδῳ (καὶ ἐνταῦθα γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἐξεπεπτώκεσαν οἱ φρουροί), διαβεβλήσθαι τε νομίσας αὐτοῖς σφόδρα καὶ δέισας μὴ καὶ ἄλλο τι ἔτι βλάπτωσι, 5 καὶ ἅμα ἀχθόμενος εἰ Φαρνάβαζος ἐξ ἐλάσσονος χρόνου καὶ δαπάνης δεξάμενος αὐτοὺς κατορθώσει τι μᾶλλον τῶν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, πορεύεσθαι διανοεῖτο πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, ὅπως μέμψηται τε τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἀντανδρον γεγενημένων καὶ τὰς διαβολὰς καὶ περὶ τῶν Φοινισσῶν νεῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων 10 εὐπρεπέστατα ἀπολογήσεται. καὶ ἀφικόμενος πρῶτον ἐς Ἐφεσον θυσίαν ἐποίησατο τῇ Ἀρτέμειδι. [ὅταν ὁ μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ θέρος χειμὼν τελευτήσῃ, ἐν καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος πληροῦται.]

4. νομίσας αὐτοὺς AEFMG (written over by first hand). 8. μέμψηται τι ABEFM. 9. διαβολὰς ἀπώσθαι M marg. The schol. of G says λείπει ἀπώσθαι. This is no doubt due to a difficulty about the phrase τὰς διαβολὰς ἀπολογήσεται, but *v.* note. 11. In C *ὅταν*...πληροῦται is in a later hand.

1. καὶ τοῦτο τῶν Πελ. τὸ ἔργον] 'This further action of the Peloponnesians'. Classen understands τὸ ἔργον as predicative, which makes it necessary to insert *ὃν* after ἔργον, but this seems doubtful.—*ἐνταῦθα*: at Cnidos. The parenthesis is inserted because, though the case of Miletus has been mentioned (c. 84, 4), nothing has been said of Cnidos. It would appear that the Lacedaemonians, having decided to throw over Tissaphernes for Pharnabazus, were anxious everywhere to expel Tissaphernes' garrisons, lest he should retaliate by going over to the Athenians.

3. διαβεβλήσθαι...αὐτοῖς] cp. c. 88, and note on c. 81, 2.—*ἐξ ἐλάσσονος χρόνου καὶ δαπάνης*: these words go closely with κατορθώσει, and δεξάμενος αὐτοῖς is parenthetical, 'by thus receiving them'.—*μᾶλλον*: 'more than he, Tissaphernes'. τῶν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθ. depends on *τε*. For the phrase cp. τὰ πρὸς τὸν Τισσαφέρην καὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην, c. 54, 2.

8. μέμψηται...τῶν γεγενημένων] The gen. after μέμψεσθαι, though common in the tragedians, occurs in Thuc. only here

and i, 143, 3 (perhaps this latter is only a case of attraction, as iii, 61, 1, quoted by Classen, certainly is).—Stahl objects to ἀπολογήσεται τὰς διαβολὰς on the ground that the acc. after ἀπολογεῖσθαι denotes the defence made, not the charge against which it is made; cp. iii, 26, 6, etc. He therefore proposes either to omit τὰς διαβολὰς καὶ, or to read ἀπολόσθαι for ἀπολογήσεται. But there seems no intrinsic objection to the phrase ἀπολογεῖσθαι τὰς διαβολὰς, and Classen's examples *θανάτου δικὴν ἀπολογησάμενος*, c. 68, 2, and *ἀπολογησάσθαι πολλοστὸν μέρος ὧν κατεφύδοντο*, Dem. xliii, 9 (p. 1052), though not exactly parallel, give it some support.

10. ἐς Ἐφεσον] Then a religious centre for the Ionians; cp. iii, 104, 3. The older temple at that time existing is said to have been burnt down on the night before Alexander's birth.

11. *ὅταν ὁ μετὰ τοῦτο κ.τ.λ.*] It can hardly be doubted that these words were added later. Xenophon appears to know nothing of them in his continuation.

## INDEX OF GREEK WORDS.

[The references are given by page and line of the Greek text : they must be understood to include the notes on the lines referred to : where words do not occur in the text the reference is to page and column (a or b) of notes.]

### A

ἀγγεῖλα, with genitive, 22, 10; with infinitive, 27, 13  
 ἀγορὰ πλῆθουσα, 141, 4  
 αἰσχρόν, τὸ αἰσχρόν, 41, 3 (40, δ)  
 αἰτιος, gender and number when predicated of persons or things, 17, 1  
 ἀκμή, 69, 9  
 ἀλλ' ἤ, 43, 5  
 ἄλλο, τὸ ἄλλο as substantive, 38, 5  
 ἄλλως, 116, 10  
 ἀνακῶς, Introd. xl: 161, 12  
 ἀναπράσσειν, 168, 7  
 ἀνάστατον ποιεῖν, 34, 8  
 ἀνατεῖ, 98, 6  
 ἀνατιθέναι, 78, 1 (77, δ): 122, 5  
 ἀνδράποδα, 43, 14  
 ἀνδρες for τινές, 62, 12  
 ἀνευ, different senses of, 9, 4  
 ἀνθάπτεσθαι, used absolutely, 76, 3  
 ἀντιπάλως, Introd. xl: 132, 5  
 ἀντιπληροῦν, 25, 13  
 ἀντίπρῳρος, metaphorical use of, in Thucydides, 80, 5: 111, 19  
 ἀνω, eastwards, 133, 14 (134, α)  
 ἀξιόλογος, 123, 9  
 ἀξυγκροτήτοις πληρώμασι, 149, 7  
 ἀπ' αὐτοῦ (neuter), 142, 2  
 ἀπό, 'from the number of', 62, 11  
 ἀπό and ἐκ used in connexion, 64, 7

ἀπό, temporal in Thucydides (cp. ἐς, 31, 6), 42, 7  
 ἀπό, expressing means, 11, 7  
 ἀπό, after ἐπίστασθαι and the like, 74, α  
 ἀπό [τῶν νεῶν], 'using the ships as a basis', 159, 8  
 ἀποληφθεῖσαι (intercepted), 20, 7  
 ἀπολογεῖσθαι with acc., 170, 7  
 ἀποστέλλειν, 13, 5  
 ἀποστροφή, with genitive, 112, 11  
 ἀποχώρησις, 'a place of retreat', 115, 11  
 ἀπροφασίστως, 5, 14  
 ἀρετή, political sense of, 100, 2  
 ἀριστοκρατία, 92, 6  
 ἀφανίζεσθαι, 54, 18  
 ἀφίστασθαι, construction of, 137, 9

### B

βακτηρία, 125, 5  
 βέλτιστοι, in political sense, 70, 8  
 βοηθεῖν ἐπὶ, 18, 14: 24, 7  
 βουλεύειν, βουλεύεσθαι, 95, 5

### Γ

γε δὴ, 59, 4  
 γεωμόροι, 29, 5  
 γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης, 54, 20  
 γίγνεσθαι, as passive of ποιεῖσθαι (middle), 29, α  
 γίγνεσθαι, with substantive as equivalent for verb, 64, 11



γιγνώσκειν, 'to realise', 2, 1: object omitted, 19, 13: 107, 5: 166, 4  
 γίγχεσθαι, followed by infinitive with negative, 23, 2  
 γνώμη (of things), 138, 4  
 γνώμης (τῆς αὐτῆς) εἶναι, 111, 13  
 γραφή παρανόμων, 99, α

## Δ

δελή ὁψία, 39, 1  
 διὰ τὸ..., with infinitive, 166, 2  
 διαβάλλειν, διαβάλλεσθαι, 121, 4  
 διακείσθαι, with adverb, 100, 4  
 διανοεῖσθαι, with present, future, and aorist infin., 82, 17  
 δικαίωσις, 95, 4  
 Διὸς ἱερὸν, 27, 15  
 διπλασίως, Introd. xl  
 δόξαν... ὥστε, 117, 2  
 δυνατός with active and passive infinitive, 114, 5

## Ε

ἐβελοντηδόν, Introd. xl  
 εἶδος, 83, 13: 137, 4  
 εἰσιτήρια, 105, α  
 εἶτα, in Thucydides, 63, 8  
 ἐκ, used in connexion with ἀπό, 64, 8  
 ἐκ πλεονος, use of, in Thucydides, 133, 9  
 ἐκ τῆς γῆς, 54, 21  
 ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, 59, 19  
 ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου, 70, 4  
 ἐκουσίαν—καθ' ἐκουσίαν, 41, 8  
 ἐκπλεῦσαι, transitive, 161, 10  
 ἐλθεῖν, 'to arrive', 131, 4  
 ἐλπὶς ἐστί (ἐλπίζω) with aorist infinitive, 129, 7  
 ἐν, 'on occasion of', 58, 2  
 ἐν γῇ, 18, 7  
 ἐν τῇ γῇ, 18, 7  
 ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοι, 134, 11  
 ἐν τῷ παρόντι, 'under existing circumstances', 2, 10  
 ἐνδέχεσθαι, with dative, 41, 7  
 ἔνεκα, sense of, in Thucydides, 115, 4  
 ἐξαιρέεισθαι, 139, 4  
 ἐξεκλησίασαν, 146, 5  
 ἐπ' ἐκείνους and ἐπ' ἐκείνους, 74, α

ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι, constructions of, in Thucydides, 48, 16  
 ἐπαίρεσθαι πρὸς, 4, 7  
 ἐπαιτιᾶσθαι, use of, in Thucydides, 120, 7  
 ἐπειγεσθαι, 13, 5: 15, 7  
 ἐπελπίζειν, transitive, 'to set hoping', 2, 4: intrans., 31, 6  
 ἐπέχειν, with genitive, in Thucydides, 47, 5  
 ἐπέχειν ἐπὶ τινι, 166, 4  
 ἐπὶ, defining province of commands, 81, 12  
 ἐπὶ κέρως ταξάμενοι, 164, 1  
 ἐφ' αὐτῶν, 14, 4  
 ἐφ' ὅπλοις, 103, 8  
 ἐπιβάται, 34, 5  
 ἐπιβάτης (= ἐπιστολεύς), 88, 7  
 ἐπιδιδόναι, 35, 5: 123, 8  
 ἐπικηρυκεύεσθαι, with infinitive, 118, 16  
 ἐπιστέλλειν (= to send letters), 55, 9: 75, 10: 157, 1  
 ἐπίσταν, 16, 6  
 ἐπιτήδειος, with infinitive, 105, 7  
 ἐπιφέρειν ὄργας, 124, 3  
 ἐς ὀλίγου ἐλθεῖν, 135, 3  
 ἐς ὁπεί, 31, 6  
 ἐσβάλλεσθαι, 48, 6  
 ἐτοῖμος, with infinitive, 16, 1  
 εὐθὺς, with genitive of person, 152, 3: of place, 133, 13  
 εὐθὺς ἐπὶ, 3, 1  
 ἐφεδρεύειν, 143, 15 (144, α)  
 ἐφεδρος, metaphorical use of, 67, δ  
 ἔχειν, with adjective used predicatively, 65, 6: with adverb, 90, 5: 100, δ  
 ἔχεσθαι (= capessere), 97, 8

## Η

ἦ, misplaced, 66, 15  
 ἥδη, 'immediately', 23, 5  
 ἦκεν, 31, 3  
 ἡσυχάσειν, Introd. xl

## Θ

θάτερα, τὸ ἐπὶ θάτερα, 49, 10

## Ι

ικανὸς... πρὸς, 12, 4

Κ

καθίστασθαι ἀσθενέσι ταῖς ναυσί, 165, 6  
καθίστασθαι ἐς φυλακὴν, 44, 8  
καί, use of, in connecting more than two  
participles, 37, 15  
καὶ ὥς, 77, 11: 83, 16  
καλοὶ κάγαθοί, in political sense, 73, 10  
κατὰ πόδας, 26, 7  
καταλαμβάνειν, 90, 10  
κατάλογος, 34, 6  
καταλύειν (τὸν πόλεμον), 86, 22  
καταφρονεῖν, with genitive, 15, 5  
κατέχειν, intransitive, 158, 1  
κινεῖν, used of political intrigue, 71, 1:  
107, 2  
κόπτεσθαι, 20, 8  
κοσμεῖν, of political arrangements, 35,

5

κράτος τῆς γῆς, 34, 1: 33, 6  
κύριος εἶναι, with participle, 77, 9

Λ

λαβέσθαι, 'to take refuge at', 119, 2  
λαμπρῶς, 99, 2: 112, 1

Μ

μακρὰ στόα, 139, 1  
μᾶλλον, 'more and more', 16, 4: 17, 7:  
89, 13  
μᾶλλον τι, 94, 6  
μᾶλλον—οὐ μᾶλλον ἤ, 42, 4: 73, 9  
μέλλεσθαι, in passive sense, 82, α  
μέμφεσθαι, with genitive, 170, 8  
μετά, in conjunction with, 26, 3  
μετὰ...τρόπον, 41, 5  
μετά, 'next after', 35, 3  
μόνως, Introd. xl: 122, 1

Ν

ναυαρχία (at Sparta), 28, 10  
ναύαρχος, 12, 10  
ναυτικὸς ὄχλος, 108, 3  
νεανίσκοι, employed by the Four Hundred,  
104, 8  
νεκροί, without article, 167, 13  
νήσις, 22, 7  
νήσοι, 62, 4  
νομοθέται, 154, 7

Ξ

ξηγγινώσκειν, meaning of, in Thucydides,  
36, 5  
ξηγγραφῆς, 97, δ  
ξηλλαμβάνειν, 'to take along with', 21,  
1  
ξημβαίνειν, constructions of, in Thucydides,  
44, 1: 'to happen simultaneously', 92,  
11: 122, 15  
ξημμαχίδες (νῆες), 33, 1: (πόλεις), 13, 12  
ξημμίσγειν, construction and sense, 60, 13  
ξύν, in composition, 21, 1: 43, 13: 122,  
15  
ξηνέκλησαν, 98, 3  
ξηνωμοσίαι, 81, 15  
ξηστέλλειν, 7, 12

Ο

ὀλίγου, used adverbially, 52, 10  
ὀμόσε χωρεῖν, 145, 1  
ὀπλα τίθεσθαι, 38, 6: 146, 5  
ὀπλα—ἐς τὰ ὀπλα λέναι, 143, 4: ἐφ' ὀπλοῖς,  
103, 8  
ὀπλιταγωγοί, 37, 8  
ὅποτε, with fut. indicative, 151, 12  
ὄρᾶν (= γινῶναι), 87, 16  
ὄργῃ, with genitive, 42, 8  
ὀρμᾶσθαι ἐς, 14, 5  
ὅσον οὐ, 39, 3  
οὐ μᾶλλον ἤ, 42, 4: 73, 9  
οὐ προθύμως, 69, 10  
οὐκ ὀλίγος, in Thucydides, 24, 6  
οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἤ, 8, 3

Π

παισιόπλουτος, 43, 10  
πάλιν, 'back again', 61, 1: 142, 8  
πανστρατιά, 83, 1  
πανσυνδί, Introd. xl: 1, 3  
πάν, in Bk viii, 129, 5: καὶ πάν, position  
of, in Thucydides, 76, 6: οἱ πάν, as an  
epithet, 1, 2  
παρά, 'in disregard of', 35, 7  
παρά, after ἐπίστασθαι and the like, 74, 4  
παρά, in composition, 85, 2  
παρὰ τοσούτον γενέσθαι...μή, 50, 4  
παρακατέχειν, 146, 9  
Πάραλοι, 110, 2

περιδεῖν, 40, 7  
 περιπλόαρχος, 142, 1 (141, δ)  
 περίπολοι, 141, 4  
 πιστόν—τὸ πιστόν, 16, 6  
 πλὴν, loosely used, 57, 13: 66, 2  
 ποιεῖν (ποιεῖσθαι), followed by ἐς and accusative, 4, 1: 90, 11  
 ποιεῖσθαι, with passive sense in Thucydides, 29, α  
 ποιεῖσθαι τὴν διώξιν, 162, 2  
 πόλις, without article, 96, 4: 149, 7  
 πολλῆς νυκτός, 160, 7  
 πολύ, substantival use of, 105, 4  
 πολός, with genitive (τῆς λείας τῇ πολλῇ), 6, 6  
 ποιηρία, in political sense, 70, 9  
 ποριστά, 73, 12  
 πράσσειν, 'to intrigue', with infinitive, 92, 10  
 πρεσβευταί (for πρεσβεῖς), Introd. xxviii: 116, 1: 127, 10  
 πρόβουλοι, Introd. xviii: xxii: 4, α: 97, δ  
 πρόεδροι, Introd. xxii: 99, 4  
 προειρησθαι, with dative, 161, 11  
 πρὸς, 'with a view to', 22, 7  
 πρὸς, 'towards', 57, 3: 59, 17: 117, 5  
 προστάτης τοῦ δήμου, 137, 2  
 προτιμᾶν, with genitive, 93, 4  
 πρῶτοι, ἐν τοῖς, 134, 12

## Σ

σεισμός, 13, 1: 59, 4  
 σκέψασθαι, with infinitive, 91, 4  
 στατήρ, 44, 1  
 στερόμενοι, in perfect sense, 2, 6  
 στίφος, Introd. xl: 143, 1  
 στρατηγὸς τῶν κάτω, 9, 13  
 σφῶν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, 68, 7  
 σχῆμα πολιτικόν, 135, 6

## Τ

τὰ ἀπὸ τινος, 72, δ

τὰ λοιπὰ (temporal sense), 29, 5  
 ταξίαρχοι, 142, 13  
 τάχα, in Thucydides, 142, 3  
 τε, misplacement of, 7, 8  
 τεσσαρακοστὰι, 160, 1  
 τέως, in Thucydides, 156, 13  
 τι= (aliquantum), 4, 2  
 τι, used adverbially, 81, 2  
 τιθεσθαι τὰ δπλα, 38, 6  
 τὸ ἐπὶ θάτερα, 49, 10  
 τοιόσδε, conjunction after, omitted, 75, 8: 103, 6  
 ταξόται (police), 155, 10  
 τοῦ μή, with an infinitive expressing purpose, 21, 1  
 τρίτην ἡμέραν...ἤκοτος, 81, 3

## Τ

ὑπάγειν, transitive or intransitive, 17, 12  
 ὑπαρχος, 25, 9: 47, 11  
 ὑπείναι, 53, 4  
 ὑπό, with agent after substantives, 92, 8  
 ὑποδεεστέρωι, Introd. xl: 132, 5  
 ὑπολείπειν λόγον ὡς, 5, 9  
 ὑποτελεῖν, 'to hold out hopes', 71, 3  
 ὕπουλος, Introd. xl: 93, 4

## Φ

Φοινίκων ναῦς, 121, 9  
 φοιτᾶν, of revenue, 26, 16: other similar words used of revenue, 66, 12  
 φυλακή, with genitive of thing guarded against, 20, 9

## Χ

χρησμολόγοι, 2, 3

## Ω

ὡς (= ὥσπερ), 4, 6  
 ὥσπερ, with participle, 2, 2  
 ὥσπερ εἶχον, 50, 12: cp. 59, 9  
 ὥσπερ ἤρξαντο, 30, 3

## GENERAL INDEX.

*[The references are given by page and line of the Greek text: they must be understood to include the notes on the lines referred to: where words do not occur in the text the reference is to page and column (a or b) of notes.]*

- Abydos, revolts, 88, a; 89, 2: Strombichides starts to try and recover it, 117, 13: the headquarters of the Lacedaemonian navy, 161, 11
- accusative absolute, 97, 2
- adjective, single, with two nouns, 2, 9: neuter plural for sing., in impersonal construction, 82, 12; 87, 8
- Adramyttium, 169, 12
- Agis, the Spartan king, sets out with his army from Deceleia, 6, 4: overtures made to him by Athenian oligarchs, 103, a; 105, 8: hostile to Alcibiades, 20, 1; 64, 8
- Alcibiades, connexion with Sparta, 11, 15: aggressive policy, *Introd.* ix: sent to Ionia with Chalcideus and causes revolt of Chios, Erythrae, and Clazomenae, 20, 12: takes refuge with Tissaphernes, *Introd.* xiii; 64, 9: intrigues of Phrynichus against Alcibiades, 71, a; 72, 5: proposals as to recall, *Introd.* xviii: recalled by the Athenians at Samos, 119, b; 120, 2: leaves Samos and follows Tissaphernes to Aspendus, 130, b; 133, 5: resolution carried for his recall, 155, 4: returns from Caunus to Samos, 168, 13
- Amorges, bastard son of Pissouthnes, 10, 8: holds out at Iasus, and is captured, 48, 6
- anacoloutha, *Introd.* xli; 50, 5; 90, 1; 119, 10; 156, 10
- Androcles, a demagogue at Athens assassinated by the oligarchical conspirators, 94, 2
- Antandrians expel Persian garrison from their city, 169, 18
- Antiphon, character of, according to Professor Jebb, 100, 1: sent to make peace with Lacedaemon, 137, 14
- Argos, treaty with Athens, *Introd.* ix
- Aristarchus, a leader of the oligarchical party, 137, 5; 155, 9
- Aristocrates, a leader of the oligarchical party, 134, 11; 142, 13
- Aristotle's account of the Revolution, *Introd.* xxi—xxvi
- article, inserted where not necessary, 51, 6; 163, 11: omitted with *νεκροί*, 167, 13
- Asiatic coast, forbidden to Persian ships of war, 84, b: transference of the war to, *Introd.* xi
- Assembly, usual numbers of, 107, b
- Astyochus, the Lacedaemonian admiral, 28, 10: takes command of the Peloponnesian fleet in Asia, 31, 1: fails in an attempt on Clazomenae, 46, a; 48, 1: eleven commissioners are sent to examine his conduct, 56, 6: defeats the Athenians, 60, 7: sails to Miletus,

- 87, 16: makes a demonstration against Samos, 90, 4: discontent of the Peloponnesians at Miletus against, 116, 5: threatened by the sailors, 125, 6: succeeded by Mindarus, *Introd.* xiv; 126, 8
- Bacon, on envy of "Fellows in office," 126, *b*
- Boule, dismissal of, 103, *a*
- Byzantium, revolts, 118, *a*; 119, 6
- Camirus, revolts, 63, 9
- Carian interpreters, 126, 11
- Cenchreae watched by Athenians, 15, *b*; 17, 9
- Ceryces, the, protest against the return of Alcibiades to Athens, 80, 1
- Charminus, an Athenian commander, 46, 3: defeated by Lacedaemonians, 60, 10: takes part in the murder of Hyperbolus, 109, 5
- Chios, helped by the Spartans, 8, *a*; 12, 7: revolts, *Introd.* xii; 20, *b*; 22, 4: a base of operations for the Peloponnesians, *Introd.* xii: negotiates with the Athenians, 36, 7: attacked by Athenians, 47, 1: more closely blockaded, 83, 7: an indecisive action is fought off Chios, 38, 15: regains the command of the sea, 89, 14: is again attacked, 158, 5
- Clazomenae, revolts from Athens, 20, 6: recovered, 31, *a*; 33, 7
- Clearchus, a Spartan commander, 14, 11: appointed to the Hellespont, 56, 11; 119, 3
- Clubs at Athens, *Introd.* xv; 72, 3; 81, 15; 121, 2
- Cnidus, its harbours, 52, 1
- Colonus, Temple of Poseidon at, 98, 3
- Commissioners sent by the Spartans to enquire into Astyochus' conduct, 56, 6
- Corinth, helps the Spartans with 15 ships, 7, 3: conference at, 14, 7: again helps the Spartans, 18, 4: loses 5 ships at Cynossema, 167, 9
- Corn traffic from Euboea, 87, *a*
- Corycus, 21, 2; 49, 8; 50, 11
- Cynossema, 165, 5; 167, 12: battle of Cynossema, *Introd.* xiv; 163, *b*: map of, 164, *a*
- Cyzicus, revolts from Athens, 168, 3: recovered, 168, 6: battle of Cyzicus, *Introd.* xiv
- Dardanus, on the Hellespont, 164, 6
- Daric stater, 44, 1
- dative of person, with reference to whom statement is made, 36, 5: subject of sentence attracted by subordinate clause into dative, 46, 1
- Decelleia, 6, 4; 103, 7; 105, 9; 106, 7; 107, 7; 155, 9
- Delphinium, in Chios, fortified, 54, 20; 58, 6
- Dercylidas, a Spartan, sent to the Hellespont, 88, 2: effects the revolt of Abydos and Lampsacus, 89, 2
- Diomedon, an Athenian commander, 27, 16: makes an agreement with the Teians, 28, 14: carries on war with Chios, 34, 1: makes a descent upon Rhodes, 82, 7: leaves ships to protect the Samians, 110, 5
- Dionysiac Theatre in the Peiraeus, 146, 4
- Doricus, a leader of the oligarchical party at Rhodes, commands ten ships from Thurii, 51, 9: threatened by Astyochus, 125, 4
- earthquake, 13, 1; 59, 4
- Eetioneia, fortified, 138, 3; 140, 15: demolished, 145, 6: map of, 138, *a*
- Egypt sends supplies to Athenians, 52, 4
- Elaeus, 161, 9; 163, 1; 168, 8
- emendations suggested, 16, 6; 32, 14; 68, 9; 75, 12; 84, 11; 97, 4; 106, 3; 114, 3; 119, 3; 148, 8; 154, 5; 165, 6
- Endius, Ephor at Sparta, a friend of Alcibiades, 11, 15: persuaded by Alcibiades not to give up the expedition to Chios, 19, 13
- Eresus, revolts, 32, 6: again revolts, 158, *b*; 159, 1: besieged by the Athenians, 160, 3; 163, 7
- Eretria, Athenians defeated near, 146, *a*; 150, 11

- Erythrae, revolts from Athens, 20, *b*; 22, 4  
 Euboea sends envoys to Agis, 8, 3:  
 expedition to Euboea deferred, 9, 1:  
 revolts from Athens, 146, *a*; 151, 4  
 Eumolpidae, 79, 11
- Fire signals, 150, 7  
 Five Thousand, the assembly of, 90, *a*:  
 list never published, *Introd.* xviii; 99,  
*b*: share by rotation in the government,  
 128, 2  
 Four Hundred, Council of, 90, *a*: in-  
 stalled in place of Boule, 103, 6: send  
 deputies to Samos, 107, 12: imprison  
 some of the Parali, 111, 5: the deputies  
 come to Samos, 127, 9: dismissed  
 with Alcibiades' message, 134, 2:  
 dissensions arise, 134, 9: the leaders  
 fortify Eetioneia, 138, 3: deposed, 153,  
*b*; 154, 3: government of compromise  
 after deposition of Four Hundred, 154, 4  
 Franchise, limitation of, 95, *a*
- genitive absolute with subject (pronoun)  
 omitted, 71, 12  
 geographical order of places inverted,  
 133, *b*  
 Glauce, 117, 7  
 Gylippus, 20, 6
- Halicarnassus, 60, 11; 169, 1  
 Harmosts, 9, 2  
 Hellespont, Peloponnesian move to, 159,  
*b*; 161, 2  
 Hermione, 7, 5  
 Hermocrates, the Syracusan, urges the  
 Sicilians to help in completing the  
 overthrow of Athens and brings a fleet  
 to Asia, 39, 3: opposes Tissaphernes,  
 45, 4; 66, 2: incurs his hatred, 126, 16:  
 is exiled, 126, 17  
 Hyperbolus, murdered, 109, 3
- Ialysus, 63, 9  
 Iasus, *Introd.* xiii; 43, 3; 81, 13  
 Ida, Mount, 169, 9  
 Imbros, 162, 3  
 indicative mood in general conditions,  
 7, 12
- G. T.
- infinitive of purpose, 39, 8; 45, 6  
 Inscriptions referred to, *Introd.* xv; 29,  
 4; 87, 6; 98, *a*; 112, *b*  
 interpolations (the following are the prin-  
 cipal cases where words are bracketed  
 as probably interpolated: *v.* notes *ad*  
*loc.*), 11, 15; 13, 12; 19, 6; 34, 4;  
 36, 5; 43, 7; 76, 9; 100, 7; 104, 4;  
 110, 3; 116, 1; 127, 10; 132, 9; 134,  
 9; 147, 6, 8, 11; 152, 10; 170, 12  
 Isthmian games, 15, 9
- Jebb, Professor, Essay on the Speeches  
 of Thucydides referred to, *Introd.*  
 xxxviii: on the topography of Colonus,  
 98, *b*: on the character of Antiphon,  
 100, *a*: on *ἐν φ*, 107, *b*
- Lade, 26, 9; 33, 9  
 Lampsacus, revolts, 88, *a*; 89, 3: retaken,  
 89, 7  
 Lebedos, revolts, 28, 2  
 Leon, an Athenian admiral, *Introd.* xiii;  
 31, 4: with Diomedon regains Lesbos,  
 33, 3: carries on war successfully against  
 the Chians, 34, 7: appointed with  
 Diomedon to the chief command at  
 Samos, 81, 12: makes a descent upon  
 Rhodes, 82, 7: aids the democratic  
 reaction at Samos, 110, 8  
 Leros, 39, 9; 40, 9  
 Lesbos negotiates with Agis, 8, 10:  
 revolts, *Introd.* xiii; 30, 13: recon-  
 quered, *Introd.* xiii; 31, *a*; 33, 3:  
 sends ambassadors to Astyochus, 48, 8:  
 the Athenians make Lesbos a base of  
 operations against Chios, 158, 5  
 Lichas, criticism of, on treaties with  
 Persia, 61, 13; 78, 11: becomes un-  
 popular at Miletus and dies there, 126, 2  
 litotes in Thucydides, 24, 6; 48, 10;  
 69, 10  
 Locris in Italy helps the Spartans with  
 ships, 140, 1
- Magnesia, 75, 16  
 Mantinea, battle of, *Introd.* x  
 Manuscripts of Thucydides, characteristics  
 of, *Introd.* xxvi—xxxviii

- Marathussa, 46, 3  
 Megara sends ships to the Spartans, 7, 4;  
 49, 5  
 Mercenaries, 37, 12; 43, 11; 83, 4  
 Methymna, revolts, 27, a; 80, 12: re-  
 conquered, 33, 3  
 Middle Party, *Introd.* xvi—xix; 95, a;  
 111, 18  
 Middle Party at Samos, *Introd.* xx  
 Miletus, revolts, 21, a; 26, 7; *Introd.*  
 xii: Athenian victory at Miletus, 33, 8:  
 invested by Athenians, *Introd.* xiii;  
 46, 5: the Peloponnesian armament at  
 Miletus, 52, 2; 53, 1; 56, 8: discontent  
 of the Peloponnesians at Miletus against  
 Astyochus and Tissaphernes, 116, 5:  
 the people of Miletus expel the Persian  
 garrison, 126, 10: send envoys to  
 Sparta, 126, 13: the Peloponnesians  
 leave Miletus, 156, 11  
 Mindarus, succeeds Astyochus, *Introd.*  
 xiv; 123, a; 126, 7: sails to the  
 Hellespont, 157, 10: defeated off Cy-  
 nossema, 166, 6  
 Mycale, *Introd.* xiii; 117, 5  
 Mytilene, revolts, 27, a; 30, 13: re-  
 captured by Athenians, 31, 10: the  
 Athenian garrison of Mytilene beat off  
 the attack on Methymna, 158, 12  
  
 Neodamodes, 8, 9  
 Nicias, peace of, *Introd.* ix  
  
 Oenoe, 155, 11; 156, 4  
 Oenussae Insulae, 34, 2  
 Oligarchical conspirators send envoys to  
 Athens, 75, 1: envoys arrive at Athens,  
 79, 5  
 Oligarchical Party, *Introd.* xv, xvii, xix  
 Oreus, 151, 5  
 Oropus, 87, 10; 149, 13—14  
  
 Paralus, the state ship, 110, 12: its crew,  
 110, a; 129, 13  
 parenthetical clause outside the construc-  
 tion, 61, 5  
 participates in asyndeton, 131, a  
 Parties at Athens, *Introd.* xv—xx  
 pay, of troops, 45, 2: of Athenian fleet,  
 65, 4: of hoplites and dicasts, 94, 6: of  
 Parali, 110, a  
 Peiraeum, 15, 6; 18, 1; 22, 3; 24, 2;  
 28, 4  
 Pericles' policy reversed by Alcibiades,  
*Introd.* ix  
 Pharnabazus, Satrap of lesser Phrygia,  
*Introd.* xi; 11, 3; 89, 3: invites Pello-  
 ponnesians to the Hellespont, 118, 15;  
 156, a; 157, 4  
 Philippus, governor of Miletus, 44, 5: is  
 sent to fetch the fleet from Aspendus,  
 133, 4  
 Phrynichus, an Athenian commander,  
 37, 8: insists on retiring from Miletus  
 to Samos, 42, 2: opposes Alcibiades,  
 72, 4: is plotted against by Alcibiades,  
 77, 3: deposed from his command, 81,  
 10: leader of the oligarchic movement,  
 102, 3: sent to make peace with Sparta,  
 137, 14: is assassinated, 141, 3  
 Pisander, sent to Athens with other  
 oligarchical conspirators, 75, 1: gains  
 over the people, 81, 7: carries on  
 negotiations with Alcibiades and Tissa-  
 phernes, 81, 7: goes with a deputation  
 from the conspirators at Samos to  
 Athens, 89, 6; 91, 11: flies to Deceleia,  
 155, 7  
 Polichna, 22, 6; 33, 4  
 political clubs at Athens, *Introd.* xv; 72,  
 3; 81, 15; 121, 2: p. parties, *Introd.*  
 xv—xx  
 political phrases, development of, 73,  
 10: p. sense of βέλτιστος, 70, 8:  
 πορνεία, 70, 9: ἀπερή, 100, 2: κινεῖν,  
 71, 1; 107, 2  
 preposition omitted before second of two  
 substantives governed by it, 151, 14  
 Priapus, 168, 3  
 Prytaneis, 105, 1  
 Pteleum, 34, 3; 47, 8  
 Pyrrha, 31, 8  
  
 Revolution at Athens, leaders of the, 102  
 Rhodes, revolts, 61, a; 63, 10: the  
 Peloponnesians take up their station  
 there, 78, 9: the Athenians make  
 descents upon Rhodes, 64, 1; 82, 7

Rutherford, Dr, on the mss. of Thuc.,  
Intro. xxvi—xxx; 156, *b*

Samos, an ally of Athens, Intro. xiii:  
revolution in Samos, Intro. xv; 27, *a*;  
28, 17: the Athenians grant the Samians  
independence, 29, 4: Samos the head-  
quarters of the Athenian fleet, 37, 9;  
42, 9; 46, 1; 49, 9; 52, 7; 57, 3; 59,  
13; 87, 16; 90, 5; 117, 6: conspiracy  
to overthrow the democracy at Samos,  
71, *a*: reaction, 108, *a*; 110, 8:  
cordial coöperation of Samians and  
Athenians, 110, *b*; 112, 8: the Athe-  
nians at Samos recall Alcibiades, 119,  
10: envoys from the Four Hundred  
come to Samos, 127, 9: Alcibiades  
leaves Samos, 133, 6: Alcibiades re-  
turns to Samos, 168, 14

Scholia help to determine text, 17, 7;  
110, 3; 135, 3

sentry duty at Athens, 103, 7

Sestos occupied by Persians in 479 B.C.,  
89, *b*: the Athenian headquarters in the  
Hellespont, 89, 11; 161, 5; 164, 2;  
168, 2

Sicilian expedition, Intro. x; 1, *a*

Sicily, 5, 3 and 11; 7, 11; 39, 2; 140, 1

Sicyon, 7, 4

slaves at Athens, 58, *a*

Strombichides, sent against Chios, 23, 8:  
is chased into Samos, 25, 3: proceeds  
against Chios, 46, 3: fails to recover  
Abydos, 89, 10: arrives with Athenian  
reinforcements at Samos, 116, *a*; 118,  
3

subject, change of, 50, 5: change from  
plural to singular with same verb, 90,  
1; 119, 10: subject modified by other  
subjects in apposition, 20, 10; 70, 12;  
119, 2: subject of sentence subject of  
genitive absolute, 113, 10: subject left  
without a verb, 156, 10

Syracuse, 39, 5; 52, 1

Tamos, 47, 11; 130, 14

Tarentum, 139, 10

Teichiussa, 40, 2; 43, 2

Teos, revolts, 20, *b*; 25, 5: Diomedon

makes an agreement with Teians, 28,  
14

Teutlussa, 60, 11

Thasos, revolts, 92, 4

Theoric fund, Intro. xv

Theramenes, leader in the oligarchical  
revolution at Athens, 102, 8: separates  
himself from the more violent aristocrats,  
134, 10: urges the destruction of the  
fort on Eetioneia, 139, *b*; 145, 4: his  
character, Intro. xx

Therimenes, a Spartan, brings reinforce-  
ments to Astyochus, 39, 7; 45, 5: he  
negotiates a treaty with the Persians,  
53, 7: lost at sea, 54, 18

Thrasylus, an opponent of the oligarchs  
at Athens, 109, 11: is elected *στρατηγός*,  
113, 6: procures the restoration of  
Alcibiades, 119, 10: sails to Eresus,  
159, 3: commands the right wing at  
Cynossema, 164, 10

Thrasylus, an opponent of the oligarchs  
at Athens, 109, 11: is elected general  
with Thrasylus, 113, 6: follows  
Mindarus from Samos, 157, 15: attacks  
Eresus, 159, 2: commands the left wing  
at Cynossema, 164, 9

Thucydides, the Pharsalian, 143, 13

Thurii sends ships to the Peloponnesians,  
51, 8; 88, 10

Tissaphernes, *στρατηγός τῶν κάρω*, 9, 13:  
character of Tissaphernes, Intro. xii:  
invites Lacedaemonians to transfer the  
war to Ionia, Intro. xi, xii; 10, 1:  
negotiates a treaty between the Lace-  
daemonians and the Persian king, 26,  
11: is assisted by the Peloponnesians  
to reduce Iasus, 38, *b*; 43, 4: makes  
difficulties about payment of Pelopon-  
nesian fleet, 45, 3: negotiates a second  
treaty, 53, 10: has disputes with the  
Peloponnesians about the terms of the  
treaty, 61, *a*; 62, 9: is persuaded by  
Alcibiades to lower the pay for the  
Peloponnesian fleet, 64, *a*; 65, 1:  
negotiates a third treaty, 83, *a*; 85, 12:  
becomes unpopular with the Pelopon-  
nesians, 123, 2: goes to Aspendus, 130,  
*b*; 133, 5: the Peloponnesians disgusted



- with Tissaphernes move their headquarters to the Hellespont, **156**, *a*;  
**157**, *10*: Tissaphernes resolves to follow the Peloponnesians to the Hellespont, **168**, *b*; **170**, *7*
- Transports, **37**, *8*; **89**, *5*
- treaty, first, between Persia and Lacedaemonians, **26**, *13*: second, **53**, *9*: third, **85**, *12*
- tribute of Greek cities in Asia, **10**, *4*
- vocabulary of Thucydides in book **viii**, *Introd.* xxxix, *ff.*
- Whibley's "Political Parties in Athens," *Introd.* xv

DEC 5 1918



**NON  
CIRCULATING**

